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About Hebrew manuscripts

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TO
THE NESTOR OF JEWISH BIBLIOGRAPHY
PROF. MORITZ STEINSCHNEIDER
ON HIS NINETIETH BIRTHDAY
THESE STUDIES ARE
DEDICATED IN REVERENCE AND AFFECTION

PREFACE

THE following Essays and Lectures are mainly concerned with MSS. in my own library. Of these the unique portion of the Hebrew Text of Ecclesiasticus is, perhaps, the most important. The first four papers appeared in the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW. The letter of Menasseh ben Israel was published in the fourth volume of the Transactions of the Jewish Society of England, and the lecture on "Jewish Literature and the Diaspora" in the Jewish Literary Annual for 1904. The last essay is not mine, but a valuable contribution to Jewish Persian Literature by Professor Bacher, reprinted from the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW. It gives a detailed description of nine of the MSS. I collected in Persia and Central Asia in 1896 and 1897. A brief list of 145 such MSS. is given in my "Persian Jews: Their Books and Ritual" (*J.Q.R.*, X, and separately published in 1899), and the learned Professor and other scholars have articles on the subject in vols. XI, XIV, XV, and XVI of the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, as well as in the *Zeitung der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, *Revue des Études Juives*, *Hebräische Bibliographie*, and other such periodicals.

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SOME MISSING CHAPTERS

OF

BEN SIRA

VII. 29—XII. 1

SOME MISSING CHAPTERS OF BEN SIRA ¹.

AMONG the numerous fragments from the Cairo Genizah which I brought away with me in January, 1896, and which I have since acquired, I have discovered a portion of the famous Hebrew Text of Ecclesiasticus, and hasten to publish the text and translation with facsimiles. The requisite critical appendix and notes must follow, but the case containing the fragment was only opened on March 7 last, and the precious fragment itself identified two days later. This consists of a pair of leaves from the same MS. as Messrs. Taylor and Schechter's MS. A, and supplies the hiatus in their edition. One other leaf of a third MS. has been quite recently discovered by M. Israël Lévi in Paris, containing chapter xxxvi. 24 to xxxviii. 1, and affording a valuable means of comparison of the two MSS. A and B, inasmuch as its text is already extant in two leaves of MS. B, of which one belongs to Cambridge and the other to the British Museum ².

My fragment comprises chapter vii. 29 to xii. 1, and is of great importance from the fact that it in all respects tallies with the copy described in the ספר הגלוי. It has vowel points and accents, and one verse (xi. 28) corresponds, but for a single letter, with a quotation in that book. All seven quotations, found in that book, have

¹ This Article appeared in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, April, 1900.

² Vide *J. Q. R.*, XII, 1-33.

therefore now been recovered. Still more notable is its extraordinary and unexpected correspondence with the Talmud group of quotations in *Sanhedrin*¹ and *Jebamoth*², of which some phrases do not occur at all in the Greek text³. In that group there is to be found a verse from Jeremiah (v. 27), and scholars have long ago pointed out how extraordinary it was that the Talmud Rabbi should have attributed it to Ben Sira. But it is bodily incorporated in the present fragment, though it occurs in none of the versions. Stronger evidence for the authenticity of this Hebrew text would, I submit, be difficult to find. That it is not a re-translation from the Syriac is made almost certain by its containing verses 28 to 32 of the eleventh chapter, which are altogether missing from the Syriac. Moreover in viii. 2 the Massoretic character of the text is strengthened by the appearance of a marginal *Keri* (כ) for the *Kethib* (כף). From a comparison of paper and characters with my earliest fragment from the *Genizah*, dated 832, there is nothing to induce one to assume that its date is later.

The translation follows the revised version where practicable. In several cases variants can be accounted for by the assumption that the early translators misread a single letter of the original Hebrew text⁴.

Both translation and transliteration are of course quite tentative, but the facsimiles will enable scholars to correct as they please. If I have occasionally guessed aright, it is largely due to the help of my friend M. Broydé, and my nephew, Herbert Adler⁵.

¹ 100^b.² 63^b.³ e. g. xi. 29^a.⁴ e. g. ix. 18 וְכַן for וְכַן, and x. 1 וְכַן for וְכַן.⁵ For a commentary on these chapters vide M. Israël Lévi's 'Notes sur les Ch. vii. 29—xii. 1 de Ben Sira éditées par M. Elkan N. Adler,' *J. Q. R.*, XIII, 1 and seqq.

- vii. 29 אל ואת כהניו הקדיש: 30 בכל מאורך אהוב עושך ואת משרתי
לא תעזב 31 כבד אל והדר כהן ותן חלקם כאשר צווחה:
לחם אברים ותרומת... צדק ותרומת קדש: 32 וגם
לאביון [הרשים] יד למען חשלם ברכתך: 33 תן מתן לפני כל חי
וגם ממת אל תמנע חסד: 34 אל תתאחר מבוכים ועם אבלים
תתאבל: 35 אל תשא לב מאוהב כי ממנו תאהב: 36 בכל
viii. מעשיך זכור אחרית ולעולם לא תשחת: i אל תריב עם
איש גדול למה תשוב על[י]דו: ii. i אל תריב עם קשה ממך
למה תפול בידו: 2 אל ת[ח]רש על איש לא הון פן ישקל מחיך
ו^ו ואברת: כי רבים הפחז זהב וה[ח] ישנה [לב נ]דיבים:
3 אל תינץ עם איש לשון ואל תתן על איש עץ: 4 [אל] תרגיל עם
איש אויל פן יבז לנדיבים: 5 אל תכלים איש שב ממשע
זכר כי כלנו חייבים: 6 אל תבייש אנו[ש] ישיש כי נמנה
מזקנים: 7 אל תתהלל על גזע זכר כלנו נאספים: 8 אל תמש
שיחת חכמים ובחידתיהם התרמש: 8^א כי ממנו תלמד
לקח להתיצב לפני שרים: 9 אל תמאס בשמיע[ת] שבים
אשר שמעו מאבתם: כי ממנו תקח שכל בעת צ[רך] להשיב
פתגם: 10 אל תצלח בנחלת רשע פן תבער בשביב אשו:
11 אל תזוה מפני לץ להושיבו כאורב לפניך: 12 אל תלוח
איש חזק ממך ואם הלויית כמאבד: 13 אל תערב יתר ממך
ואם ערבת כמשלם: 14¹ אל תשפט עם שופט כי כרצונו
יש[פט]: 15 עם אכזרי אל תלך תכביר את רעתך: 15^א כי הוא
נוכח פניו ילך ובאולתו תספה: 16 עם בעל אף אל תעז
מצח ואל תרכב עמו בדרך: 16^א כי קל בעיניו דמים ובאין
מציל ישחיתך: 17 עם פותח אל תסתייד כי לא יוכל
לכסות סודך: 18 לפני זר אל תעש רצ כי לא תדע מה ילך
ספו: 19 לכל בשר אל תגל לבך ואל תדיח מעליך הטובה:
ix. i אל תקנא את אשת חיקך פן תלמד עליך רעה: 2 אל תקנא

¹ A doublet of this verse appears in iv. 27 *edidit* Schechter.

- לאשה נפשך להדריכה על במוחך 3 אל תקרב אל-אשה זרה
 פתפול במצותיה: 3^a עם-זונה אל-תסתייד פתחלך בלקותיה:
 4 עם מנזינת אל תדמוך פן ישרפך בפיסתם 5 בבתולה
 אל תתבונן פן תוקש בעונשיה 6 אל חתן לזונה נפשך פן תסוב
 את נחלתך: 7 להתנבל במראה עיניך ולשומם אחר ביתה:
 8 העלים עין מאשת חן ואל תביט אל יפי לא לך: בעד אשה
 [ה]שחתו רבים וכן אהביה באש תלהט: 9 עם בעלה אל תמעם
 ואל [ת]סב עמו שכור: 9^a פן תטה אליה לב וברמים תטה אל שחת:
 10 אל תמש אוהב ישן כי חדש לא יד[ע] ע[רכך]: יי[ן] חדש אוהב חדש
 וישן אחר [תש] תינו: 11 אל תקנא באיש רשע כי לא תדע מה
 יסו: 12 אל [תקנא] בודן מצליח וזכר כי עד מות לא ינקה:
 13 רחק מאיש [שלי]ט להרוג[נ] ואל תפחד פחדו מות ואם קרבת
 לא תאשם פן יקח [א]ת נשמתך: דע כי בין פחים תצדך
 ועל רשת תתהלך: 14 כבחק ענה רעך ועם חכמים הסתייד:
 15 עם נבון יהי ח[ש]בונך וכל סודך בינותם: 16 אנשי צדק בעלי
 לחמך וביראת אלהים תפארתך: 17 בחכמי ידים יחשך יושר
 ומש[ל] עמו חכם: בימה 18 נורא בעד איש לשון ומשא
 x. על פיהו ישונא • 1 שופט עם יוסר עמו וממשלת מבין
 .. סדורה 3 מלך פרוע ישחית עיר ועיר נושבת בשכל
 שריה: 2 בשופט עם בן מליציו ובגראש עיר בן יושביו:
 5 ביד אלהים ממשלת כל גבר ולפני מחוקק ישית הודו:
 4 ביד אלהים ממשלת תבל ואיש לעת יעמד עליה: 6 [ב]כל
 פשע אל תשלים רע לרע ואל תהלך בדרך גאווה:
 7 שנאה לאדון ואנשים גאווה ומשניהם מעל עשק:
 8 מלכות מני אל נוי תסוב בגלל חמס גאווה: 9 מה יטאה
 עפר ואפר אשר בחייו יורם נפו: 10 שמץ מחלה
 יצהיב רופא מלך היום ומחר יפול: 11 במות אדם
 יתחל רמה ותולעה קנזים ורמש: תחלת נאון אדם

- 12 מִדְּעוֹ וּמִעֲשָׂוֹ יִסּוֹר מַלְכוֹ: 13 כִּי מָקוֹה וְדוֹן חָטָא וּמִקּוֹרָה
 יֵבֵא יִבֵּעַ זִמָּה: עַל כֵּן מִלֵּא לְבֹא אֱלֹהִים [יִם] נִנְעָה וִיכֹרֵה עַד כְּלָה:
 14 כִּסָּא נְאִים הֶמֶךְ אֱלֹהִים וְיֹשֵׁב עֲנִים תַּחְתָּם: 15 עֲקֵבַת נְיִים
 .. טַמְטִם אֱלֹהִים וְשִׁרְשָׁם עַד אֶרֶץ קַעֲקַע: 17 וּסְחָם מֵאֶרֶץ
 וַיִּחַשְׁם וַיִּשְׁבֹּת מֵאֶרֶץ זָכָרם: 18 לֹא נֹאחַ לֹאנֹשׁ וְדוֹן וְ[עֹז]וֹת
 אֶף לִילּוֹד אִשָּׁה: 19 זֶרַע נִכְבֵּד מִה זֶרַע לֹאנֹשׁ זֶרַע נִקְלָה
 עוֹבֵר מִצּוּחַ: 20 בֵּין אֲחִים רֹאשָׁם נִכְבֵּד וִירָא אֱלֹהִים [מִמֶּנּוּ]
 22 גַּר חֹר נִכְבֵּד וְרֹשׁ תַּמְאֲרָתָם יִ[רָא]ת אֱלֹהִים: 23 אֵין לְבוֹזוֹת דֵּל מִ[שְׂכִי]ל
 וְאֵין לְכַבֵּד [כָּל] אִישׁ [יֹו]רָם: 24 מוֹשֵׁל וְשׁוֹפֵט נִכְבְּדוּ [וְאֵין]
 גִּדּוֹל מִ[י]רָא אֱלֹהִים: 25 עַבְדֵּי מִשְׁכִּיל תּוֹרֵם וְעַבְדֵּי [חֲכָם] [לֵא]
 יִתְאַוּן: 26 אֵל תִּתְחַבֵּם לְ[ע]בֵד חַפְצָךְ וְאֵל תִּתְחַבֵּד [בְּמֹו]עַד
 צִרְכָּךְ: 27 טוֹב עוֹבֵד וְיִתֵּר הֵן מִמִּתְכַּבֵּד [בְּלֹחַ]ם¹ מִתֵּן:
 28 בְּנֵי בַעֲנָה כְּבֹד נִפְשָׁךְ וִיתֵן לָךְ ט . . . אֲבֵרָתָ:
 29 מִרְשִׁיעַ נִפְשׁוֹ מִי יִצְדִּיקֵנוּ וּמִי יִכְבֵּד מִקְלָה נִפְשׁוֹ:
 30 יֵשׁ דֵּל נִכְבֵּד בְּגִלָּל שְׂכָלוֹ וְיֵשׁ נִכְבֵּד בְּגִלָּל עֲ[שְׂרָו]:
 30^a נִכְבֵּד בַּעֲשָׂרָו אֵיכְבָּה וְנִקְלָה בַּעֲיִנָּיו אֵיכְבָּה: 31 וְ[תִמְכֹּב]בֵּד
 בְּרִלּוֹתוֹ בַּעֲשָׂרָו מִתְכַּבֵּד יִתֵּר וְהִנֵּקְלָה בַּעֲשָׂרָו בְּרִלּוֹתוֹ
 xi. נִקְלָה יוֹתֵר: i חֲכָמָת דֵּל תִּשָּׂא רֹאשׁוֹ וּבֵין נְרִיבִים תִּשְׁיִבֵנוּ:
 2 אֵל תִּהְלֵל אֲדָם בְּתֹארוֹ וְאֵל תִּתְעַב אֲדָם מִכְ[וֹעַר] בְּמֵרֹאשׁוֹ:
 3 אֲלִיל בַּעוֹף דְּבִרָה וְרֹאשׁ תְּנוּבוֹת פִּרְיָה: 4 מַעֲמָה אֲ[בָ]רָא אֵל
 תִּהְלֵל וְאֵל תִּקְלֵם בְּמִרְיָי יוֹם: כִּי פִלְאוֹת מַעֲשֵׂי יְיָ וְנִעְלָם
 מִ[אֲדָם] פַּעֲלוֹ: 5 רִבִּים נִדְכָּאִים יִשְׁבוּ עַל כִּסֵּא תִבֵּל עַל
 לֵב עֲטוֹ צִנִּיף: 6 רִבִּים, נְשָׂאִים נִקְלוּ מֵאֲדָר וְהִשְׁפִּילוּ יָתֵד
 וְגַם נִכְבְּדִים נִתְּנוּ כֵּד: 7 כְּטָרָם, תִּתְקוֹר אֱלֹהִים לִפְנֵי
 לְפָנִים וְאַחֵר תִּתְּנֵה: 8 בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים יִבְרָךְ טָרָם וְהִשְׁמַע
 וְכִתּוֹף שִׁחָה אֱלֹהִים יִבְרָךְ: 9 בְּאֵין עֲצָבָה אֵל תִּתְּנֵה וְכִרְבִּי זִידִים
 .. אֵל תִּתְּנֵם: 10 בְּנֵי לִמָּה תִרְבֵּה עֲשָׂךְ וְאֵין לְהִרְבוֹת לֹא יִנְקָה:
 11 בְּנֵי אֵם לֹא תִרְחֵץ לֹא תִגִּיעַ וְאֵם לֹא תִבְקֵשׁ לֹא תִמְצָא:

¹ וְחִסְרָה.

- 12 יש עמל וינע ורץ וְכָדִי כֵן הוּא מֵתֹאמֵר: יֵשׁ רֶשֶׁשׁ וְאֶבֶד
 מַחֲלָךְ חֹסֵד כֹּל וְיוֹתֵר אֶ-נֶשׁ: וְעַיִן יֵי צַפְתָּהוּ לְטוֹב וְיַעֲרִיזוּ
 מַעֲפֵר צַחֲנָה: 13 נֶשֶׁא בְּרָאשׁוֹ וְיִרְמָמְהוּ וְיִתְמָדוּ עַל־י רִבִּים:
 14 טוֹב וְרַע חַיִּים וּמוֹת רֵשׁ וְעוֹשֶׁר מִיֵּי הוּא: 15 חֲכֻמָּה וּשְׂכָל
 וְהִבֵּן דָּבָר מִיֵּי הוּא: 15^a חֲטָא וְדֹרְכִים יִשְׂרִים מִיֵּי הוּא 16 שְׂכָלוֹת
 וְחוֹן[שָׁד] לְרֹשְׁעִים נֹצֵחַ וּמִרְעִים רַעַה עִמָּם: 17 מְ[תֵן] צָדִיק
 [עָרִי חֶלֶד] וְרַצְנוּ יִצְלַח לְעַד: 18 יֵשׁ מִתְעַשֵּׁר מִהֲתַעֲנוֹת
 [יֵשׁ]: יִחְ[יב] שְׂכָרוֹ: 19 וּבַעַת [אִמֵּר] מִצְאָתִי נֹחַת וְעַתָּה אֲ[כ] לְ
 [מִטּוֹבִית]: לֹא יֵדַע מָה יִהְיֶה חֶלֶק וְעוֹב לֹא[חֲרִי]ם וּמֹת
 20 בְּנֵי שְׁ[לֵם] בַּחוּקָךְ וּבוּ ת[הִנֵּה] וּבִמְלֶאכֶתְךָ הִתִּי[שֵׁן] [לְעַד]:
 21 בְּ[נִי... דוֹם] לֹא וְקוֹה לֹא[וֹ]רוֹ: כִּי נִכְחָ בְּ[פֶת]ע פִּתְאֵם
 לְ[הַעֲשִׂיר דָּל] 22 בִּרְכַת אֵל נִרְלָ צָדִיק וּבַעַת תְּקוּמוֹת תִּפְרַח...
 23 אֵל תֹּאמֶר... כִּי עָשִׂיתִי חֲפָצִי וּמָה עָתָה יַעֲזֹב לִי: 24 אֵל תֹּאמֶר
 דִּי... יִהְיֶה עָלַי... 25 מִכָּיִם תִּשְׁכַּח רַעַה וְרַעַת
 [יּוֹם] תִּשְׁכַּח טוֹב וְאַחֲרִית אָדָם תִּהְיֶה עָלָיו: 27 עַת רַעַה
 תִּשְׁכַּח תַּעֲנוּג וּסּוּף אָדָם יִנִּיד עָלָיו: 28 ii. בְּמֶרֶם תַּחֲקֹר אָדָם
 אֵל תֹּאשְׁ[רָהוּ] כִּי בִאֲחֵרִיתוֹ יֹא[וֹ] וְשֶׁר אָדָם: 28 לִפְנֵי מוֹת אֵל תֹּאשֶׁר
 גִּבֹּר כִּי בִאֲחֵרִיתוֹ יִנְכֹר אִישׁ: 29 לֹא כָל אִישׁ לְהִבְיֹא אֵל בֵּית
 וּמָה רָבוּ פְ[צַעִי] רוּכָל: 29^a כְּכֻלּוֹב מֵלֹא עוֹף כֵּן בְּתִיָּהֶם
 מֵלֵאִים [מִרְמָח]... 30 כְּעוֹף אַחַח בְּכָל[וֹב] לֵב נֹאחַ [כ]זֹאב
 אֲרָב לְמִרְ[פָּ]: מָה יִרְבוּ פִשְׁעֵי בְּצַעַת כְּכֻלּוֹב הוּא בִּאוּכָל
 בֵּית: וְחוּמָם כָּל בְּצַעַת בֹּא וּמִשִּׁים רִיב לְכָל ט[וֹב]תָם:
 אוֹרֵב וְרוּכָל כְּדוֹב לְבֵית לְצִים וּכְמִרְגֵּל יִרְאֵה עֵרֹחַ:
 31 טוֹב לִרְעַ יִהְפֹךְ [נִרְ]גֵן וּבִמְחֻמִּידִךְ יִתֵּן קֶשֶׁר: 32 מִנְצִיץ
 יִרְבֶּה נִחְלָת וְאִישׁ בְּלִיעַל לָדָם יֵאָרֵב: 33 נוֹר מִרְעַ כִּי רַע
 יוֹלִיד לְמָה מוֹם עוֹלָם תִּשָּׂא: לֹא תִדְבֹק לְרֹשַׁע וְיִסְלֹף
 xii. דִּרְכָךְ וְיִהְפֹכֶךְ מִבְּרִיתֶיךָ: i אִם טוֹב תִּדְעַע לְמִי תִמְכִּיב
 וְיִהְיֶה תִקְוָה לְמוֹכֶתְךָ: 34^b xi. מִשׁוֹכֵן וְזִירוֹ זִהִיר דִּרְכֶיךָ

^a Or עמד.

TRANSLATION.

- vii. 29. (Fear) the Lord (with all thy soul);
 And sanctify his priests.
30. With all thy might love him that made thee;
 And forsake not his ministers.
31. Honour God and the priests;
 And give them their portion as thou wast com-
 manded;
 The meat of sacrifice,
 And the wave offering of my sanctification,
32. And also to the poor man (stretch out the hand),
 That thy blessing may be perfected.
33. Give a gift to every one living;
 And also from the dead withhold not grace.
34. Be not backward from them that weep;
 And mourn with them that mourn¹.
35. Do not bear a grievance (lit. heart) from a friend;
 For by him thou art loved.
36. In all thy days remember the end,
 And thou shalt never do amiss.
- iii. 1. Contend not with a great man,
 Wherefore should his hand turn against thee.
- 1^a. Strive not with one who is stronger than thou,
 Wherefore shouldst thou fall into his hand?
2. Contend not with a man of wealth²,
 Lest he outweigh thy price.
 And thou perish.
 For many hath gold shaken,
 And wealth changeth the heart of princes.
3. Contend not with a man of tongue,
 And heap not wood upon fire,
4. Be (not) familiar with a rude man,
 Lest he despise princes.
5. Put not to shame a man that hath turned from sin;
 Remember that we are all guilty.

¹ Cp. Romans xii. 15; *Derech Erets Zuta*, V.² This is the *Keri*. The *Kethib* reads 'a man without wealth.'

6. Dishonour not an old man ;
For we will be counted of the old.
7. Do not rejoice over one that is dead :
Remember that we shall all be gathered to *our fathers*.
8. Neglect not the discourse of the wise,
And converse of their proverbs ;
- 8^a. For of them thou shalt learn instruction,
So as to stand before princes.
9. Despise not to listen to the aged
Of that which they have learned from their fathers :
- 9^a. For from them thou shalt take understanding,
In time of need to return an answer.
10. Do not enjoy the inheritance of a wicked man,
Lest thou be burned by the flame of his fire.
11. Move not before an insolent man,
To cause him to wait in ambush for thee.
12. Lend not to a man that is mightier than thyself ;
And if thou hast lent be as one that hath lost.
13. Be not a surety for one that is more than thou art ;
And if thou be surety be as one that must pay.
14. Go not to law with the judge ;
For according to his will shall he judge.
15. Walk not with a violent man,
Lest thou make thy evil heavy ;
For he will go according to his own will,
And through his folly thou wilt go astray.
16. With a wrathful man harden not thy face,
And do not ride with him on the way :
- 16^a. For light is blood in his eyes ;
And when there is none to help he will destroy thee.
17. Tell not thy secrets to a fool ;
For he will not be able to conceal thy secret.
18. Do no secret thing before a stranger ;
For thou knowest not what his end will bring forth.

19. Reveal not thine heart to every man ;
And do not repulse the good from thee.

ix. 1. Be not jealous against the wife of thy bosom,
Lest she learn evil against thyself.

2. Make not thy soul eager for a woman,
To cause her to tread upon thy high places.

3. Do not approach a strange woman,
Lest haply thou fall into her snares.

3^a. Be not intimate with a harlot,
Lest thou be caught by her cozenings.

4. Be not lulled by singing women,
Lest they burn thee with their mouths.

5. Gaze not upon a maid,
Lest haply thou be trapped in her penalties.

6. Give not thy soul unto a harlot,
Lest she take away thine inheritance.

7. To deal foolishly after the sight of thine eyes,
And to be distraught after her house.

8. Turn away thine eye from a comely woman,
And gaze not on beauty not belonging to thee ;
For a woman's sake many have been corrupted ;
And thus her lovers she burneth with fire.

9. With her husband taste not meat ;
And drink not strong drink with him ;
Lest haply thy heart turn aside unto her,
And with blood thou glide into the tomb.

10. Forsake not an old friend ;
For the new is not comparable to him :
As new wine so is a new friend ;
When it is old thou shalt drink it.

11. Envy not a wicked man ;
For thou knowest not what is his day.

12. Do not (envy) at an ungodly man who is prosperous :

Remember till death he shall not go unpunished.

13. Keep thee far from the man that hath power to kill,
And thou shalt not fear the fear of death :

And if thou come near commit no fault,
 Lest he take away thy life:
 Know that thou goest about in the midst of snares,
 And walkest upon a net.

14. As well as thou canst answer thy friend;
 And take counsel with the wise.
15. Let thy account be with men of understanding;
 And all thy discourse among them.
16. Let just men be the companions of thy board;
 And let thy glorying be in the fear of the Lord.
17. By men of artifice equity is withdrawn:
 And he that ruleth my people is wise.
18. Give fearsome heed to a man full of tongue;
 The speech of his mouth is hated.
- x. 1. A people's judge instructeth his people;
 And the government of a man of understanding
 is well ordered.
3. A debauched king will destroy the city;
 And a city is established by the wisdom of its
 princes.
2. As is the judge of a people so are its counsellors;
 And as the head of the city so are his citizens.
5. In the hand of the Lord is the authority of every
 man;
 And upon the face of the scribe shall he lay his
 honour.
4. In the hand of the Lord is the authority of the
 world;
 But man standeth over it but for a time.
6. Requite not evil to thy friend for every wrong;
 And go not in the way of pride.
7. Pride is hateful before the Lord and *before* men;
 And oppression is to both a trespass.
8. Sovereignty is transferred from nation to nation,
 Because of the violence of pride.
9. Why is earth and ashes proud?
 Which with its life throweth off its body.

10. A trace of disease that makes the physician
laugh ;
He is a king to-day and to-morrow he shall be
taken.
11. For when a man is dead,
He shall inherit worms and insects, lice, and creep-
ing things.
12. The beginning of pride is when a man is stubborn ;
And removeth his heart from the Lord.
13. For the hope of pride is sin ;
And its source will give forth abomination.
Therefore the Lord filled his heart with plague,
And smote him to destruction.
14. The Lord cast down the throne of the proud,
And set the humble in their stead.
15. The Lord plucked up the trace of nations,
And destroyed their roots to the ground.
17. He plucked them forth from the earth,
And he abandoned them,
And he caused their memorial to cease from the
earth.
18. Pride is not good for man,
Nor wrathful anger for the offspring of woman.
19. How can the seed of man be an honoured seed ?
A despised seed is he that transgresseth the com-
mandment.
20. In the midst of brethren their head is honoured ;
But, more than him, he that feareth the Lord.
22. A stranger and a foreigner,
An alien and a poor man,
Their glory is in the fear of the Lord.
23. It is not right to despise the poor man that hath
understanding ;
It is not fitting to honour every one that is exalted.
24. The ruler and the judge are honoured ;
And more than both is he that is great and feareth
the Lord.

25. A slave that hath understanding is exalted ;
And a slave that is [wise] will not murmur.
26. Be not overwise in doing thy pleasure ;
And not glorify thyself in the time of thy need.
27. Better is he that laboureth, and aboundeth in all
things,
Than he that glorifieth himself, with the (bread) of
a gift.
28. My son, glorify thy soul in humility,
And he will give thee thou dost perish.
29. Who will justify him that condemneth his own
soul,
And who will glorify him that maketh light of his
own soul ?
30. There is a poor man honoured for his wisdom ;
And there is he that is honoured for the sake of
his riches.
- 30^a. He that is honoured in his wealth how can that be ?
And he that is lightly esteemed in his own eyes¹
how can that be ?
31. He that is honoured in his poverty,
In his wealth he is honoured still more ;
And he that is lightly esteemed in his wealth,
In his poverty he is still more lightly esteemed.
- xi. 1. The wisdom of the lowly shall lift up his head,
And make him to sit in the midst of princes.
2. Commend not a man for his beauty ;
And abhor not a man who is loathsome in appear-
ance.
3. As nought is the bee among such as fly ;
But her fruit is the chief of sweetmeats.
4. Mock not at the dress of the wretched,
And do not despise them that curse the day ;
- 4^a. For wondrous are the deeds of the Lord ;
And his work is hidden from man.

¹ Read rather וְיָדָע instead of וְיָדָע, and translate 'in his poverty.'

5. Many of the humble have sat on the throne of the world ;
On the heart they have placed a crown.
6. Many exalted men have been very lightly esteemed,
And have been humbled together ;
And honoured men have been delivered into the hand of *others*.
7. Before thou hast examined blame not :
Examine first and afterwards refute.
8. My son, answer not before thou hast heard ;
And do not speak in the midst of conversation.
9. Do not delay in a matter where there is no concern ;
And where there are many violent stand not out.
My son why dost thou increase thy oppression ?
And he that hasteth to increase will not be held guiltless ;
10. My son, if thou dost not run thou shalt not reach ;
And if thou dost not seek thou shalt not find.
11. There is one that toileth, and laboureth, and runneth,
And to that extent he delayeth.
12. There is one that is poor and needy ;
He seeketh for kindness of every one,
And is more and more weak ;
But the eye of the Lord looketh upon him for good ;
And maketh him rise from the vile dust.
13. He raised him by the head and exalted him ;
And caused many to marvel at him.
14. Good things and evil, life and death,
Poverty and riches, are of the Lord.
15. Wisdom and skill, and understanding of things,
are from the Lord ;
Sin and upright ways are from the Lord.
16. Folly and darkness are created for the wicked,
And from the evil evil is with them.
17. The gift of the righteous is for ever,
And his good pleasure shall prosper for everlasting.

18. There is that waxeth rich by his afflicting himself,
And (there is) that endangereth his reward.
19. What time he saith I have found rest,
And now I will eat in peace;
He knoweth not what will be *his* lot;
And he will leave *his goods* to others and die.
20. My son, be steadfast in thy covenant, and meditate
therein,
And grow old in thy work.
21. My son, rest in the Lord, and hope in his light:
For it is an easy¹ matter in the eyes of the Lord,
To make the poor man suddenly rich.
22. The blessing of God is the lot of the righteous;
And in the time of his hope thou shalt flourish.
23. Say not that I have done my pleasure
And what will he leave me now?
24. Say not sufficient there is unto me.
25. The happiness of the day causeth forgetfulness of
evil;
And the evil of the day causeth forgetfulness of
good;
And the end of man shall be upon him.
27. An evil time causeth forgetfulness of delight;
And the last end of a man will tell of him.
- 27^a. Before thou searchest a man do not accuse;
The than the wealth of man.
28. Hold no man happy before his death,
For a man shall be unrecognizable in his latter end.
29. Not every man is to be brought into the house,
And how many are a broker's wounds.
- 29^a. As a cage full of birds,
So are their houses full of (deceit).
30. As a bird caught in a cage,
So is the heart of a proud man.
As a wolf that lieth in wait to tear.

¹ Reading *לך*, instead of *לך*.

How many are the iniquities of the robber ;
 As a dog is he among those that eat in the house.
 He stealeth all

The robber cometh and maketh strife in all their
 goods ;

The tale bearer lieth in wait as a bear for the
 house of the wicked ;

And as a spy he seeth its nakedness.

31. The quarrelsome turneth good into evil,
 And he maketh a conspiracy among thy lovely
 things.

32. From a spark of fire cometh much coal ;
 And a worthless man lieth in wait for blood.

33. Be afraid of an evil man,
 For he produceth evil things ;
 Why shouldst they bear a blemish for ever ?
 Do not cleave to a wicked man,
 Lest he pervert thy way and turn thee from thy
 covenants.

- xii. 1. If thou do good, know to whom thou doest it ;
 And there shall be hope to thy good deed ;

- xi. 34^b. Beware of a meddlesome neighbour . . .

KARAITICA

KARAITICA¹.

THE idea of unity has always pervaded Jewish life socially as well as religiously. Hence our horror of sectarianism and heterodoxy. Of all the Jewish heresies—and numerically they have been but few—none has had so long a history as that of the Karaites. For more than a thousand years the Karaites have by the Rabbanites been regarded as pariahs, their race as impure, their literature as feeble and worthless. In every Jewish centre they have been in a minority, and, except in some Crimean towns, in a really pitiable minority. In Jerusalem, where they have existed since the foundation of their sect, tradition has it that they have never been able to muster a "Minyan" of ten. In Cairo they number a thousand or so, but even there the lowest of the Levantine Jews treat as synonymous the terms Karaite and "Mamzer." In Constantinople proper they are not, but in some of the villages in the immediate neighbourhood, which may be reckoned as forming part of Greater Constantinople, notably at Perim Pasha on the Golden Horn, Karaite communities are to be found in close touch with their more prosperous brethren in Russia. The Karaite capital is at Simferopol in the Crimea, and Kertch, Feodosia, Sebastopol, Eupatoria, and even fashionable Yalta are all hotbeds of Karaism. Sukum Kalé, where Karaite books were beautifully printed in the first half of the century, was destroyed by the British Fleet during the Crimean War, and has never been rebuilt. Odessa, Constantinople, and Cairo

¹ This Article appeared in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, July, 1900.

owe their Karaite synagogues to the fact that they lie on the great high road of commerce, and that the Karaites, like all traders, are good sailors¹.

And they have keen commercial instincts. But the best stroke of business they did was when they persuaded a too paternal Russian government that they were Bible Jews, the real Jews of History and aboriginal inhabitants of the Black Sea coast, and that Talmud Jews were interlopers compounded of all the vices. Abraham Firkovitch was a prime mover in the argument, and supplied much of the evidence, not scrupling to forge a few dates when convenient. But he was a remarkable character, and his biography would need a Carlyle to do him justice. Hebrew literature owes him a debt in that he was the first of the systematic plunderers of the Genizoth of the Orient. His treasures have enriched the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg, whose Karaite collection is consequently the largest in the world. The other great libraries have suffered from Rabbanite prejudices, for directly or indirectly they have been supplied by Talmud Jews who had neither knowledge nor interest for Karaite research. Leyden alone has to thank a non-Jew, Trigland, for having devoted himself to Karaitica, made a Karaite collection, and induced a Karaite to write for the famous Dutch University a Karaite Bibliography.

Of late, however, there has been a distinct revival of interest in the Karaites among Orientalists. Saadia's Millennium and the exploitation of the Cairo Genizah have reminded us how large a part the Karaites occupied in Jewish thought, and convinced us that foemen worthy of the steel of a Saadia and a Maimonides should not be despised. And now that greater tolerance is at last being shown by the Russian government towards Talmud Jews, they too can afford to pardon the bitter vengeance taken upon them by their secular enemies. The following

¹ An interesting list of the ten chief Karaite communities of Europe is given in the *מנהג ספרדים* vide infra, sub voce Printed Books, M.

collection of Karaite MSS. and books were acquired by the writer during his travels in the East. They are principally derived from two sources, from the Karaite Chacham Shabtai, at Cairo in 1895, and from the widow of the Chacham Isaac b. Moses Krimi at Perim Pasha in 1896. As Bible Jews, the Karaites have always prominently concerned themselves with the text of the Bible and the Massora, and, accordingly, a large proportion of their books deal with the Bible.

MANUSCRIPTS.

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(b) ס' ארח צדיקים. Statement of the controversy between the Karaites and the Rabbanites, followed by a list of Karaite writings. Written by Simḥa Isaac b. Moses of Lutzk, in 1756.

(c) קצור ענין השחיטה. Abbreviation of the הלכות שחיטה in Elijah Baschitzki's אדרת אליהו, by Joseph b. Mordecai of Trok.

(d) ס' כלי רובע השעות. Introduction to that work by Caleb Afendopulo.

Bible Commentaries, &c.

202. ס' המבחר. Hebrew Commentary on the Pentateuch by Aaron b. Joseph הרומא. Scribe, Michael b. Solomon Japhet in 1744. 4to. Rashi character, pp. 202. Cp. B. M. Or. 1097 and Leyden Warner 2.

203. מקדמה. Commentary on Genesis and Exodus by a Karaite, perhaps Samuel הרומא al-Maghribi. Cp. B. M. Or. 2405, 2406. Each "parsha" or weekly section is preceded by an introduction¹ (מקדמה), a Psalm, and some Biblical verses relating thereto, and followed by an invocation in favour of Moses and the Prophets. The commentary and the introductions are in Arabic in Hebrew characters. Title page and the first pages of the preface are wanting. On page 2 occurs the following:—אל מרי ורבי השואל רחמי צורו שמואל המלמד בן מר' ור' קאל

¹ Cp. Pinsker, *Lik. Kad.*, p. 63.

ויבן מעמאדי : 3. And on p. 3 : משה בן מר' ור' חסדאל הנדע אלמני נ'ע' פיה עלי נאלבי כללם אלמאמם אלמאמאז אלשיך אבו אלמרנ ברקאן ארן אסר. *Scribe*, Elijah Levi b. Joseph. 8vo. Square character.

204. *מקדמה*. The like for משפטים. Exodus xxi to end of Leviticus. At the head of two sections occurs a dedication to Isaac Firuz שם הבחור יצחק פירוז על.

205. Ditto for תרומה to ויחי. Genesis xlvii. 28—Exodus xxvii. 19.

206. Ditto for וישלח. Genesis xxxii. 4—xxxvi. 43.

207. Ditto for משפטים. תרומה. Exodus xxi—xxvii. 19. Defective at beginning. *Scribe*, Elijah Levi b. Joseph.

208. Ditto for בלק. Numbers xxii. 2—xxv. 9.

209. Ditto for פינחס. מטעי. Numbers xxv. 9 to xxxvi. 13 (end).

210. קדשת וירא. Psalms and Biblical verses constituting the sacrament for the Sabbath of the section וירא.

211. The like for the section שמות.

212. The like for the section בא.

213. The like for קדשים.

214. Joshua. Hebrew-Arabic translation and commentary of Japhet b. Ali, called Abou Ali the Bozrian. 4to. Rabbinic hand, the last five pages supplied in a modern cursive hand.

215. II Samuel. Commentary by the same (?) beginning at chap. xiii.

216. שרז אללהלים. Psalms. Commentary by the same in five volumes: (a) i—xli; (b) xlii—lxxii, defective; (c) lxxiii—lxxxix; (d) xc—cvi; (e) cvii—cl. The first volume was written in 1776, the others in 1567. *Owner*, Abraham Levi. Cp. B. M. Or. 2520. Edited by Bargés.

217. Fragment of a Karaite Commentary on Psalms.

218. The like, by a different commentator.

219. Proverbs². Commentary, by Japhet b. Ali, in two volumes, the first page of vol. 1 and the last two of vol. 2 supplied by a modern hand. Cp. B. M. Or. 2402, 2506, 2507. Three chapters have been edited by Fischer at Cracow, 1898.

220. Fragment of a Turkish-Hebrew Commentary on the first six chapters of Proverbs. Cursive Tartar script.

221. Job. Commentary by the same in two volumes. Written in 1608. Cp. B. M. Or. 2509—2512.

222. Lamentations. Commentary by the same (?), written by Joseph b. Aaron חסלמר, Shebat, 1667. N. B. B. M. Or. 2515, 2516 are by Salmon b. Jeruham.

223. Canticles. Commentary, by Abou Ali Alhassan b. Ali Habasri,

¹ Cp. Pinsker, *Lit. Kad.*, p. 120.

² Vide *Revue des Études Juives*, XXXVIII, 157.

the father of Japhet b. Ali¹. N.B. B. M. Or. 2513 is by Japhet b. Ali himself, and was edited by Bargés.

See also 244, Canticles, Daniel, Ezra.

224 (457). Canticles. Fragment of Commentary, probably by Caleb Afendopulo.

224 A (516). Genesis xlvii-Exodus viii. Hebrew-Arabic Commentary by Moses ben Levi קצנב Halevi. Date, Shebat, 1597.

Liturgica.

225. The Karaite Ritual. The first fifteen pages contain "*Dinim*" as to prayer in Arabic. Then comes the prayer for Saturday night, then the morning prayer (שחרית), then that for noon (צהרים), and next the מועריב for the other week-day evenings. 8vo. *Scribe*, Jacob הוזן. Date, 1727. Cp. B. M. Or. 2531.

226. תפלת שחרית. The morning prayer: contains ברכי נפשי, פירשת קרבנות, לכו נרננה, שטע, תחנונים, בראשית ברא עד יום הששי, הודו.

227. תפלה. Daily prayer. Cp. B. M. Or. 2530.

228. Sabbath morning prayers. Begins as follows:—בשם ה' אל-עולם נבחר אלמאן תרתיב תפלת בקר יום השבת אלוי אל אלארבעה איאם יוסף לוי בבר על אלעארה. On the first page occurs the name of יוסף לוי בבר על אלעארה. Defective at the end.

229. Prayers for the Sabbath after the ninth Ab. At the end is a prayer for Salmon b. Jeruham², the contemporary of Saadia.

230. Evening prayers for Mourners. Begins:—בשם דיין אמת שופט—בצדק ובאמת האוי תרתיב צלאת אלאכלות.

231. Morning prayers, Hallel, prayers for the New Moon. The rubrics are in Arabic. *Scribe*, Jacob Hazan³. Date, 1773.

232. תפלת יחיד. Prayers for the individual, not in Synagogue. At the end a dedication to the writer's brother, Abraham b. David. Date, 1670.

233. Fragment of morning service for the Day of Atonement. תפלת הבקר של יחיד.

234. Fragment of the Karaite ritual, containing משה ויחל, and some *Selichot*. Cp. B. M. Or. 1427.

235. Prayers for the "Rejoicing of the Law" (ש"ת). Written by and dedicated to the "dear child" Nissim b. Joshua Levi Hazan b. Solomon Levi. Date, 1826.

236. ריעל לשטחת תורה. The biblical verses to be recited between the two benedictions by the "אחרון" who finishes the Law. Date, 1819.

¹ Vide in אביר איה צדיקים sub voce אביר.

² Vide ante 221.

³ Cp. 223 ante.

237. Prayers for the "Rejoicing of the Law." Written and dedicated to the "dear child," David Joseph Elisha. Date, 1826.

238. Prayers and Psalms to be recited on the Sabbath morning before Passover. *Scribe*, Solomon Za'ir b. Jadiah Za'ir, the physician. Date, 1728.

239. תפלה שבת חזון. Prayers for the Saturday before the ninth Ab. *Owner*, Joseph Levi b. Nahum Levi. (Cp. 522.)

240. Fragments of Liturgy.

241. Sabbath morning Prayers. *Owner*, Obadiah b. Joshua.

242. (a) שיח יצחק ד'. Commentary on the prayer for Kippur תפלת ח' שפתי תפתח, divided into thirty-two chapters. Written by Simḥa b. Moses of Lutsk¹ in 1783. Author's autograph.

(b) תפלה למשה. Commentary on the prayer of Moses in פרשת כי חשא. By the same. Written in 1753.

Philosophy.

243. (1) ד'. עץ חיים. A philosophic work in 114 chapters, composed in 1346 by Aaron b. Elijah Istanbauri, and edited by Steinschneider and Delitzsch. Leipzig, 1841. Cp. B. M. Or. 1099, 1306. *Scribe*, Moses b. Abraham b. Moses of Fars (Khiva). Date, 1445.

(2) A poem, by Solomon ibn Gabirol, שחי לאל יחידה וחכמה.

(3) Ditto, by Samuel, "חא", שחי לאל יחידה אל מערך.

(4) Selichot. ורחמינו, by Aaron b. Elijah Istanbauri.

(5) וידי לר' משה בן חייא.

(6) Selicha, by Solomon ibn Gabirol, ח' שם איום ונורא.

(7) Piyutim, by Eliezer ben (sic) Kalir.

(8) Poems, by אנולי.

(9) Commentary on Canticles, Daniel and Ezra.

(10) פתרון חלומות of Hai Gaon.

244 (356). Fragment of a philosophic and theological work of the same title, by Aaron האחרון, with a commentary thereto entitled עץ הדעת by Samuel Kalii.

245. Murshid אלמרשיד (ד' המצוות) of Samuel Malis b. Moses al Maghribi, the physician (cp. 203 ante). The work is divided into twelve sections, viz.:—

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. אלמקאלה פי אל שבת | Sabbath. |
| 2. אלמקאלה פי אל ירח | New Moon. |
| 3. אלמקאלה פי אל מילה | Circumcision. |
| 4. פי בקיה עשרת הד' | Ten Commandments. |

¹ Vide ante sub 201.

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 5. אלמקאלה פי אלמוערים | Festivals. |
| 6. פי נמלה מן אלאחכאם ואלשראיע אלוי חגרי בין אלנאם בעצה מע בעץ. | Of the relations between man and man. |
| 7. פי אלמאכלה | Dietary laws. |
| 8. פי אלמטאוח | Of the unclean. |
| 9. פי אלערויות | Marriage laws. |
| 10. פי נמיע אלחקים וגו. | The Statutes, &c. |
| 11. פימא ילום כואץ אלאמה מן כהנים. | Of men's duties to the Priests. |
| 12. פי אלירשות | Laws of inheritance. |

This book was translated into Hebrew by Solomon b. Joseph Kanzi (vide Pinsker, *Lit.*, note 7). At the end of the MS. is a poem with an acrostic on the author's name. Date, 1435. Cp. B. M. Or. 2405, 2406, which was written in 1520, and B. M. Or. 63, which contains only the sixth, seventh, and eighth Mākālāt.

246. ס' נן ערן ס' המצוות. The Book of Precepts of Aaron b. Elijah the Nicomedian, divided into הלכות, which are subdivided into chapters. 2 vols., 4to. Scribe, Aaron b. Moses. Date, 10 Nissan, 1556. Cp. B. M. Or. 22069, written 1580, and Leyden W. 21, written in 1396.

246 A. The same work. 1 vol., folio (bought in Milan). The first two pages supplied in a modern Italian hand.

247. ס' המצוות. The Book of Precepts of Japhet ha-Rophé b. David ha-Rophé b. Saguir (fourteenth century). The seventh and eighth Mākālāt, wants the last two chapters. This work was divided into ten Mākālāt, each of which is subdivided into chapters (פצ'ל). The entire work is not extant, though fragments are to be met with in a few libraries (vide Pinsker, 188).

248. (a) מלחמות ה'. Salmon b. Jeruham's polemic diatribe against Saadia Gaon, his contemporary. At the beginning occurs the following ascription: זה הספר לרבנו סלמן בן ירחם חסובות. לסעדיה תלמידו המורד לו. The work is written in verse, and divided into eighteen chapters, of which only twelve appear to be known to bibliographers (vide Pinsker, 15). This MS. contains the whole eighteen, and would therefore seem unique. Scribe, Elijah b. Baruch Jerushalmi.

(b) תוכחת מנלה. Polemic against the Rabbanites, by Saul b. Mazliah ha Cohen. Has been printed (vide Pinsker, 25-43).

249. (a) ס' העקרים. The six Articles of Faith or Dogmas of Israel Hadayan (Magrabi b. Samuel), in Arabic. Cp. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, 213, &c., and cp. *J. Q. R.*, X, 588 (B 9).

(b) הלכות שחיטה, in ten chapters, by the same (written at Kahira in 1306). Cp. Leyden W. 52^s. *Owner*, Joshua Levi Mazliah.

250. Fragments of a Cabbalistic book, written in Arabic and Hebrew characters.

251. לחכמת המספר. *Mabai*. A treatise on Arithmetic, in two parts, written by a Karaite. *Owner*, Isaac b. Mordecai Trikan.

Bound up with this MS. is a printed Calendar for thirty-four years. מלודות לל"ד שנים, printed at Kalé in 1796 (vide post, Printed Books, P).

252. קובץ על חכמי החכמה.

253. Benjamin Jerushalmi's Miscellany.

(i) Different opinions of astronomers as to the number of spheres of the moon and their orbits. Quotes David Ganz b. Solomon's נחמד ס' ונעים; R. Meir b. Isaac Aldabi ha Rofé's אמונה ס'; Raphael ha Levi's תכונות שמים ס', and Mordecai Bomtiano.

(ii) מאמר עולם קטן. "The Microcosm," an abbreviation of the work of this name by Menahem Azaria of Fano.

(iii) מצרף לחכמה. A defence of the Kabbala, by Joseph del Medigo, against Elijah del Medigo.

(iv) A criticism, by Benjamin Jerushalmi, of Sabbatai Scheftel's Cabbalistic work שפע טל.

(v) שבר יוסף. Extracts from Luria's Cabbalistic books.

(vi) שמות הקבלה. Extract from Joseph del Medigo's חכמת הנבואה.

(vii) ס' הראב"ד על היצירה.

(viii) ס' נחלות.

(ix) Controversy between Benjamin Jerushalmi and Isaac b. Solomon the "High Priest" (חכון הנדול), the Karaite author of אור הלבנה ס' as to קדוש החדש. *Scribe*, Benjamin Jerushalmi.

254. תוכחה. Admonition in rhymed prose (Hebrew-Arabic) after the style of Bahya's נפשי נפש. Each paragraph begins נפם. Defective at the beginning. 8vo. Paper. Rabbinic hand.

255 (453). (a) פתשן כתב הדת by Caleb Afendopulo, in four parts, with chapters on *Dinim*, and instructions as to reading the Law and the Haftarothe throughout the year, the *Minhagim* as to ס"ת, the manner of writing a *Sefer Torah*, the closed and open sections (פתוחות וסתומות), the functions of a סופר or scribe, the form of the poetical stanzas of the Pentateuch, and the text of the ברכות.

(b) The fragment of another Caleb's work on the same subjects, and occasionally quoting the last described MS.

Poetry and Belles-Lettres.

256. (a) ד' החידות *Aphorisms* by Caleb Afendopulo b. Elijah b. Judah *הוקן*. This work is divided into twelve sections and treats of various scientific and literary matters. The MS. begins in the middle of the twelfth section with questions and answers on scientific matters. Then follows a short treatise on the names of the Messiah and then one on Hebrew Prosody, at the end is written: *ובכאן ראינו להפסיק הדבור בעיני בעלי השירים ובשלמותם נשלם ספר החידות . . .*

(b) *ד' ס' נן המלך*. A Divan by the same, also divided into twelve sections. At the beginning of the third poem of the ninth section: *זה חברתי כשנפטר מורי ורבי ההכ"ר אליהו בשיצ' צ"ה בה"ר כ' משה חותני נ"ע בכ"ר מנחם ע"ה כ"ג לסיון שנת הר"נ לצירה היא שנת אתכב* לחברן. The tenth section contains Piyutim, some of which are printed in the *Machzor Romania*. Each section is headed in red ink. This MS. was sold in 1600. It is apparently unique. The only works by Afendopulo in the British Museum are his *דרכי החיים* *Index to the עץ החיים*, Or. 1306; and his *כתב הדת* on the Ritual. Or. 2537. *Vide ante* 255.

257. טוב טעם *Commentary* on Aaron b. Joseph's Piyutim for each weekly section of the Pentateuch, by Berakha b. Joseph ha Cohen. Date, 1651. Pp. 326. *Unique*.

[**258. ענק או תרשיש** *D's* Moses b. Ezra's Tarshish, 1200 poems rhyming by synonyms, divided into ten chapters, with an Arabic commentary after each verse by Abraham Eliezer Hadayan ibn Chalfan, and with occasional marginal notes by Samuel b. Abraham (possibly a Karaite). *Scribe*, Samuel Hacoheh b. R. Judah b. R. Eliezer called Ibn Alchazin *אלכאזן*. Date, 9th Ab, 1501. *Owner*, Obadiah b. Joshua, the Karaite. On the first page occurs the following note, which is of historical interest, as to the Egyptian Karaites in the beginning of the seventeenth century: *והיה מא אהראם כאחבה ללמו' אלאזל אלכביר אלמחכום אלמע' צדקה ירים הודו בן כזק מר' ור' יוסף נע הבור ע' באבן ע' אולי הנצנה תמאן פי חדש אדר שני השסס לצירה ארם (!) לאלשיך סחמוד בן אלמצרי כואב בליל אלהמאן ע"ה . . . באלאסתקא כלם אלפקיר יהודה מאיר רופא תורים וכבר אברהם הסופר חלבו (!) מן בירושלים בס' תבה פרחת אליה לחברן פונדני ר' שאול . . . ור' יעקב אשמו הרבנים מכרו לנ . . . ענר כמאל . . . באצי מצחאף באלקראין וטא ערפו איש הו תעלקת . . . רד פרחת ענדה נמצעה מסלמין מן נמלה הם אלשיך אבן כמאל בנ' פונדת הודא אלכתאב נאשת . . . רותה מנה בנצף . . .*

259. שירים. (a) Two Arabic poems in praise of God. (b) Decalogue, with an Arabic paraphrase in rhymed prose.

[260. קצ'ה חנה. The story of Hannah, the mother of the Maccabees, in Arabic.

[261. קצ'ה אסתר. The story of Queen Esther, in Arabic.

[262. קצ'ה יוסף. The story of Joseph, in Arabic. *Scribe*, Moses b. Samuel, the Karaite. Date, 1820.

263. Poetical Miscellany in Hebrew Arabic in different hands, consisting of—

(a) קצ'ה משה. The Ascension of Moses. Copy made in 1853 by Joseph Halevi b. Abraham Matzliah b. Isaac b. Abraham b. Jacob b. Saadia b. Abraham.

(b) קצ'ה חנה.

(c) An Arabic פיוט for Pentecost.

(d) קצ'ה נמנמה. A Midrashic poem.

(e) קצ'ה אלסייר אלרסול . . . משה. The story of Moses.

264. Fragment of an Arabic medical work.

*Astronomical, &c.*¹

265. צל העולם. "The world's Image." A treatise on cosmogony, translated into Tartar (Turkish) in Hebrew characters, from the Hebrew translation of Matthias Delacrut (sixteenth century) of the French original; vide *Hist. Lit. de la France*, XIII, 301 sqq. At the end is a Hebrew poem with an acrostic on the name of the Karaite קלמן Abraham, the Turkish translator. Purchased at Odessa.

266. (a) על לחות ס' האדרת. Commentary on the Karaite Calendar given by Baahitzi in his *Sepher Adereth*, by Joseph Tiahbi b. Judah, the Karaite. Date, 1580.

(b) ס' הכנפים. Treatise on the Karaite Calendar with tables and diagrams by Emanuel b. Jacob, called Magister Beaufl. At the end a note by the scribe (?) Moses b. Elijah Hallel. Date, 1609.

(c) Criticism on these works by Isaac b. Solomon b. Zadik, called בלאחדב (the lame) of Spain².

267. פחשקן כתב הדת. *Dinim* as to ב"ד and Benedictions. Incomplete.

268. Fragment of a Turkish MS. in Hebrew Tartar script.

269. ס' שיח יצחק. Author's autograph. In thirty-two chapters. Written at Lutzk on Shebat 23, 1738, and re-written in 1753. *Author*, Simḥa Isaac b. Moses, of Lutzk, the Karaite, b. Simḥa b. Joseph b. Jeshua the Martyr (הקדוש) b. Simḥa b. Jeshua b. Samuel the Elder יעמץ מעצם משפחת השתי.

¹ See also 251 and 252.

² Vide Steinschneider, *Ueberseht.*, § 332.

270. חמלה למשה. ס'. Author's autograph by the same. Vide Steinschneider, 7192. Date, Nissan, 1743.

271. זכרון לרור אחרון. Fragment of a Marriage Register of Karaites in and near Odessa, 1860-1880.

272. נחל אשכול. Index to the work הכופר האשכול of Jehuda Hedessi (vide post, sub voce Printed Books, F) by Caleb Afendopulo. Written in the village קרמיא near Constantinople, on the 4th Adar, 1497. 4to.

Genizah Specimens.

Of far greater importance for Karaite history and literature than most MSS. are the fragments from the famous Genizah at Cairo, for they date back a thousand years and more. A *corpus* of at least the earliest of these is essential for the future historian. The following specimens, brought back by the writer from Egypt in January, 1896, may suffice to show what can be expected. The first is a form of Divorce dated in 1030. It is quite different from the Rabbanite גט, is pure Hebrew, not Aramaic, and, though elegant in diction, is not the less forcible.

A KARAITE DIVORCE OF 1030.

זה ספר גיטים למצר לבני מקרא

זה ספר כריתות שכתב פלוני בן פלוני לפלונית

בת פלוני שהתיה ^{אחדשי} (sic) אשתי מקדמת דנה

[בא ביום כן וכן בשבוע שהוא יום

כן וכן מחרש] [פלוני משנת אלף ושלש

מאות שנה ושבעה וארבעים שנים למס

יונים בארץ מצרים במדינת פסטאמ

שעל נהר פישון מושבה לפני הזקנים

ויאמר אלהם (sic) ודעתו תמימה מישרת

עליו בלי אונם אנסו מו[דיע] אני לפניכם

כי גרשתי את פלונית בת פלוני שהיתה

[אש] יד ארשתי שבקדוה
 לפני זה ועתה שלחתיה מביתי והוצאתיה
 מרשותי ואתן אתה ספרה זה ספר כריתות
 לה ואין לי עליה ממשלה ולא שלטון כי היא
 לא אשתי ואנכי לא אישה והנני אומר
 לפניכם את פלונית בת פלוני שפך וכנויך
 ארשתי
 שהיית אשתי מקדם עתה מנורשת ממני
 ומשלחת מאתי ומצאת מתחת ידי ומרשותי

[TRANSLATION.]

THIS IS THE EGYPTIAN BILL OF DIVORCE
 FOR THE KARAITES.

This is the Bill of Divorce which *N. M.* the son of *N. M.* has written for *N. M.* the daughter of *N. M.* who was my {betrothed} heretofore.
 wife

On the . . . day of the week which is the . . . day of the month . . . of the year 1347, according to the computation of the Greeks in the land of Egypt in the city of Fostat, which is situate on the River Pishon.

Came *N. M.* before the Elders and said unto them, being of sound mind and none compelling him, "I make known unto you that I have divorced *N. M.* the daughter of *N. M.* who was hitherto my {betrothed}. And now I have {abandoned her} from my house
 wife {sent her away} and caused her to go forth from my premises. And I give unto her this her book—her bill of divorce. And I have no longer over her dominion nor power for she is not my wife and I am not her husband and behold I say before you: Thou *N. M.* daughter of *N. M.* thy name and thy designation, thou that wast before my {betrothed} now art thou divorced by me and sent away from me, and removed
 wife from my control¹ and from my premises."

Another is an ancient List of Books—fragment of a book-seller's catalogue, perhaps as early in date. It is described and deciphered by Professor Bacher in the last volume of the *Revue des Études Juives*². The single page comprises

¹ Lit. hand, cp. *manus* = *potestas*.

² XXXIX, p. 199, and XI, p. 58.

the names of no less than fifty-six works, more than a third of which are by Saadia Gaon. But at least two are Karaite. No. 19 mentions a book by Anan, the founder of Karaism, and No. 45 is a responsum by Daniel al-Kumisi, a Karaite worthy of the tenth century. The Catalogue might have been issued by Quaritch. It distinguishes books as "unbound," "bound in leather," and "bound in fine vellum," and the whole lot are described as not for sale but to be placed on one side! Another such list, with over a hundred titles, will shortly appear in the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

PRINTED BOOKS.

Most of the following are unknown to Bibliographers :—

A. The Bible in Tartar in Hebrew characters. 4to, in 4 vols. Printed in Goslov by Mordecai Trishkin, 1841. I. ספר תרגום תורה, pp. 96 + 80 + 140 + 46. Leviticus and Numbers are numbered together. This volume is defective. It wants the first seven pages, and ends in the twenty-fifth chapter of Deuteronomy. II. ספר תרגום נביאים, pp. 322. III. ס' תרגום נביאים, pp. 358. The first page missing. IV. ספר תרגום כותבים, pp. 216 + 52, with the five scrolls. At the end of Nehemiah is a colophon, showing that the book was finished by Jacob b. Mordecai נע, on Wednesday the 23rd Adar II, 1842, showing that Mordecai Trishkin had died in the interval. מרדכי . . . לבבד הבחור (!) וכתבתיו . . . בן סנהם. Unknown to Steinschneider.

B. סדורי התפלות לכל השנה כפי סנהג קהלות הקראים הדרים בגלילות קירים וקוסטנטינה ופולין וליטא . . . קלעא . . . קרוב ליראץ. The prayers of the Karaites of the Crimea, Constantinople, Poland, and Lithuania. In three volumes: (1) Week-day, New Moon, Sabbath, Haftarothe, &c. Also ס' מנחת יהודה, poems on the weekly sections of the Pentateuch, by Judah Gibbor the Karaite. (2) Festivals. (3) Kippur and Selichoth. 4to, Kale, 1805. Not in Steinschneider.

C. The first volume of the same edition.

D. סדר התפלות כמנהג הקראים. 4to, Goslov (Eupatoria), 1836. Vide Steinschneider, 400, who gives the title סדר התפלה. A defective copy in three volumes: (a) Daily Prayers; (b) New Year and Selichot; (c) ס' מנחת יהודה by Judah Gibbor's.

E. Another volume of the same edition containing the same as (b), and also the prayers for the festival of Tabernacles. Bound up there-

with are: (1) Ten MS. poems for the Rejoicing of the Law, beginning כל ישרון יאירוק ; (2) שבחי תודה. Prayer for the Czar, in Hebrew and Tartar. Another for פֶּרַשֶׁת כִּי חָשָׂא. Another for Duke Knaz Kotzebue. Another for Count Woronzow. Another for Count Pahlen. Another for the Imperial Family, when they visited the Synagogue in Sivan, 1833.

F. אשכל הכפר, by Jehuda Hedessi. Fol., Eupatoria, 1836. The Karaite corpus theologiae. Vide Steinschneider, 1327 (pages 41, 97, and 98 torn out by the Russian censor).

G. המצאה חדשה מדבר שין. *Fragment*, Constantinople, 1801. המחקק עראב אונלו בונט ובניו.

H. כליל יופי, by R. Aaron, the first incomplete. Eupatoria, 1847.

I. כללי הדקדוק בלשון קדר על דרך שאלות ותשובות. Grammar (acrostic, אברהם יר), sixty-four pages, Constantinople.

K. לח חשרשים ללשון כסדים מהנמצא בספר הקדש. Dictionary incomplete.

L. שפה ברורה. Hebräische Grammatik mit 4 Sprachen. Latin, Italian, French, and German (with Russian added in MS.). All five languages are in Hebrew characters. Amsterdam, 1786.

M. פתח התבה ע"י המעתיק והמניה חזק משרשים מלשון קדר ללשון מורק"י. הנצב על מלה"ק לשרת ולכהן ה"ה האדם הגדול כענקים מזהר"ר יצחק בכר שמואל הכהן ירו חזק ונ"פ ונ"ו הרים תרומה לה' עשרה ספרים לזכר בנו הידיד והנעים בר' שמואל החלמיד רך בימים וטוב להשכיל ז"ל האחד לק"ק קוסמנדינה וא' לק"ק נחלאוו וא' לק"ק קלעא וא' לק"ק כפא וא' לק"ק אודיסא וא' לק"ק אור וא' לק"ק לתקא וא' לק"ק העליץ וא' לק"ק מרוק וא' לק"ק פוניווי בני מקרא יציו תקובל לרצון Only ten copies printed, one for each of the Karaite communities at Constantinople, Eupatoria, Kalé, Kaffa, Odessa, Or, Lutzk, Hielitz, Trok (in Lithuania), and Poniewesh (in Poland). 8vo. 56 pp.

N. שרש דבר מפתח שרשי לשון העברי. A Hebrew-Tartar Bible Concordance and Dictionary. The Tartar in Hebrew characters. 4to, 342 pages. Printed at Eupatoria about 1836 (not in Steinschneider).

Another copy (incomplete).

O. מולדות משנת החקסן עד שנת הת"ר. Calendar and astronomical tables for thirty-four years. 4to, Kalé, 1796. שנת תינלן, unknown to Steinschneider.

P. Another copy of the same, bound up with MS. No. 251.

NOTE

In a list of Karaite MSS. and printed books in my possession recently published¹, descriptions are given of certain elementary grammatical textbooks printed at Constantinople. I have recently acquired a volume in which three of these (N, G, and M) are bound up, together with two other works of a similar character, and which supplements our information about the Karaites and their Press at Constantinople. All five books, though separately paginated, are similar in size and type, and, as appears in a "הקדמה" (!), which concludes the series with a list of subscribers, of great value for the history of that interesting sect, were printed together in 1826 at Ortakeui, on the Golden Horn, by עראב אונלו בונט and Sons. The following are the different components of the series:—

(1) Benjamin Musafia's זכר רב, as printed at Amsterdam by Manasse ben Israel in 1635, but with Tartar translation of the Bible texts.—A sort of concordance for *hapax legomena*. 8vo. 96 pages.

(2) מפתח שרשי לשון העברי. This is the Dictionary described in the list *sub voce* "N"². 8vo. 342 pages.

(3) ספרי החנוך לפתח תקוה. This consists of a title-page and four pages of preface, by Joseph Solomon ben Moses, to the following (5) and to (1). The pages are not numbered, but inserted in the provoking Karaite fashion followed in their prayer-books.

(4) מדרב שראן, loc. cit. G.

(5) פתח התבה, loc. cit. M. This concludes with another preface, by Rabbi (!) Isaac ha-Cohen, the corrector of the press, and a list of subscribers, showing that 200 copies were subscribed by Karaites of Eupatoria, 122 by Karaites of Constantinople, 89 by those of Kalé, 85 by those of Odessa, 25 at Kaffa, 22 at Or, and 11 at Lutzk. 70 pages.

¹ J. Q. R., XII, 674.

² The date and place of printing there given has accordingly to be amended.

AN ANCIENT
BOOKSELLER'S CATALOGUE

AN ANCIENT BOOKSELLER'S CATALOGUE¹.

AMONG the Adler Genizah Fragments from Fostat is the following Bookseller's List, which is evidently not later in date than the beginning of the twelfth century. It is intrinsically of considerable importance, because it introduces us to a large number of unknown works by known writers.

Two similar lists from the same collection have been published by Professor Bacher in the *Revue des Études Juives*: "Une Vieille Liste de Livres," XXXIX, 199 et seqq.; "La Bibliothèque d'un Médecin Juif," XL, 55-62². Neither of these lists, however, is as important as the one under consideration in respect to the number or interest of its volumes. Most of these are described as "bound" (מגולד), but already centuries ago our unnamed bibliographer prized his Genizah Fragments, and bound them up as "Miscellanies" (נסכָּה מומצוּת).

- 1 מדרש השכם מגולד
- 2 פיר' עירובין ומעילה מגולד
- 3 ספר יוסף בן גוריון מגולד
- 4 פואסיק אלהמים ללקראיין מגולד
- 5 סידור ר' סעדיה
- 6 סידור לשלמה
- 7 מאסרה מגולד
- 8 ברכות ירושלמי
- 9 ספר ק[ובץ] לתורה בראשית ואלה שמות ונסכה
- 10 כת' אלשמות ללהאי

¹ This Article appeared in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, October, 1900.

² See also Poznański, "Quelques Remarques sur une vieille Liste de Livres," *R. É. J.*, XL, 87-91, and *J. Q. R.*, XII, 685.

- 11 תפסיר רות לר' שמייה
 12 נדה בריתא גמ' שבת רה
 13 תפסיר משנת מועד לתלמוד אלרביעי
 14 כת' אלצלאה לאבן רב' שמו . . . זל
 15 פיר' תמורה ותמיד וכ[ריתו]ת מזלד
 16 מכלתא דוידבר מזלד
 17 מדרש וידבר מזלד ועזה קליל
 18 משנת ר' אליעזר . . . וש לר' . . . מזלד
 19 בריתא דשמואל פי אליעזר
 20 מזלד פיה היל' ברכות והיל' תפלת י[חיד ותפלת] צבור וברכת כהנים
 והיל' ברכת מזון וצרכי סעודה והיל' יום טוב מן הלכות
 כלנ[ל]ת . . . והיל' שבת לבן גיאת מזלד
 21 מזלד פיה היל' פסח והיל' חודש . . . והיל' קידוש והיל' הברלה והיל'
 יו' [טוב] והיל' ט' באב והיל' חנוכה והיל' מגלה מן הלכות
 כללות לבן גיאת זל
 22 מזלד פיה היל' ראש השנה והיל' תשובה והיל' יומא והיל' סוכה והיל'
 לולב והיל' הלל והיל' מועד והיל' אבל מן הלכות כלולות
 לאבן גיאת. היל' קדושן לבן גיאת זל מזלד
 23 נסכה מנמנע בכמי אולהא תעליק היל' ברכות לבעץ תלאמידה ראם
 מתיבה ר' שמואל אסתאדי
 24 הלכות סדר נשים לבעצהם מזלד תפסיר ד' אזיר לבן בלעם
 25 פיר' עירובין לבעצהם
 26 תפסיר ישעיה ותרי עסר לבן נקטילה 27 מזלד מדרש תנחומא
 28 מזלד פיר' קמא ומנעא חרה
 29 פיר' סכות חרה מזלד 30 נסכה תשובות פיה תקטיע כביר לר'
 צמח ונירה .
 31 שדה כתב כראם תבת נסכנא אלתי . . .
 32 תפסיר ספר יצירה ותשובות ומשלי בן סירא 33 מזלד תפסיר
 בעץ . . .
 שדה פיהא עדה אשיא בעל . לתוכרה כמו . . . וניר דלך
 34 מזלד פיה אלהפסקות ותשובות . . .
 35 מפתאח מועד ונשים קסעתין שדה וא [חרה]
 36 מגלת סת[רים] . . . עב . . . נוח 37 מזלד מדרש ילמרט

- 38 פיר' יבמות לבן יה ... 39 מזלד פיר' בכורות לרב' ברוך בן יצחק
 40 מזלד פיה תפסיר לשיר השירים ודראשאת
 41 פיר' סוכה וראש השנה תעניות וחגיגה ללריים
 42 מזלד פיה כת' אלמורית לר' סעדיה וכת' אלכראם לבן חפני
 43 כת' אלמלאך וכת' אלצמאן וכת' אלנפק . . ת לבן חפני שדה ואחרה
 44 כת' לואום אלחכאם לבן חפני מזלד
 45 מזלד ישחמל עלי אלפאטה הלכות גדולות ואלפאט ברכות וניר דלך
 46 מזלד פיה גמ' ראש השנה ותעניות ומגילה ומשקן וחגיגה
 47 מזלד מנמוע אולה היל' שמיטה ללהאי
 48 כת' אלפרז . . . וכת' אלסנאן וניר דלך מזלד
 49 כת' אלתננים ות[ערי]ף אלמעאן ואלאפעאל אלמשתריך
 50 מן לאם . . . ומכתצרה . . . מזלד
 51 תפסיר אלענק . . . מזלד
 52 . . . מקאלה ראבעה מצאפה אלי אלתדכרה
 53 . . . וביצה ויבמות וחולין ללריים (?) 54 מזלד פיר' שבעות לבן . . .
 מזלד
 55 . . . תפאח 56 מזלד פיר' יבמות לבן חפני 57 מזלד תפסיר תרי
 עסר לבן ברכ . . .
 58 כת' אלתאניב לבן חפני 59 מזלד כת' אלכשף . . כת' אלרד עלי
 אלמתחאמל (?) וכת' תחציל שדה
 60 מזלד פיה כת' אלמלאך וכת' אחכאם אל פקדן וכת' אלמנאוה לבן
 חפני וכת' אל . . . לר' האי
 61 [מזלד] סוכה ותענית לר' חננאל פיר' ראש השנה ושמיטה (sic!) לר'
 חננאל פיר' שבת לר' האי
 62 אלכתאב אלביע לבן חפני מזלד 63 כת' הראיה לבן טיב נאזאתאן (?)
 ולה איצא כת' אלזורה נזו
 64 תפסיר שיר השירים לל . . . 65 מזלד תפסיר אוגו לבן נקטילה
 66 מזלד נויקן ירש' פיר' ג' פרוק . . מן בתרא לר' שריא ור' האי
 67 מזלד תפסיר אלפאט אלתלמור
 68 מזלד כת' אלתן[חיד] לר' מקמאן 69 מזלד כת' אלרד עלי ענן
 70 מזלד מכאתבאת ערביה 71 מזלד כת' חוי בל[כי] 72 מזלד כת' אלעוד
 73 מזלד כת' אלכלף בן בן אשר ובן בן נפתלי ותפסיר אקדאר אלמקרא
 כת' סב אלבאדיה

- 74 מזלד תשובות אולה דרז דיקלא ואלום
 75 מזלד תשובות אולה מזלד כביר פי זמלתהא דרז וליהו סובז (?)
 76 מזלד תשובות פי זמלתהא דרז' הפעומות
 77 כת' פי אלנקט בעץ תפסיר שמואל ללקראין לר' האיי תפסיר ספר
 הגלוי כת' אליבום ואלחליצה
 78 כתאבין .. עלם ... ות ואלותאנק (?) ומקאלה פים סראז אלסבת לר'
 סעריה
 79 בעץ תפסיר ... לר' ח ... ובעץ ... מנלת סתרים אלערביה
 80 כת' ... ואלשפעא ... בעץ מצעה אלזו אלזול מן כל אלזול לזן
 81 שדה פיהא פיר' מכות ופיר' שבעות ... בחרק ופיר' פרק רבן גמ' אומר
 אין גמ באיש
 82 ... גירה ומכאתבה פיהא שם בן טב אותיות
 83 ו ... סוד התורה ודרזין לר' שמ' ... 84 כרארים מן פיר' חולין
 ללכנוי וגמ' ברכות ...
 85 ינ' כרארים מן תפסירה אלכנוי 86 כרארים מן מדרש מועד וכראם
 מן זד ספרא וניר דלך
 87 כת' אלשאפי ואיצא שדה ... אלזחזון וכת' לחם הפנים ומקאלה סראז
 אלסבת וספר ... ומקאלה פי תס ... בה ינ' כרארים מכאתבאת ושאליות
 ר' יעקב
 88 כת' זלק אלפיה וצללה אלכנוי ומנאלם (?) אלכמר תעליק חולין היל'
 ראש השנה
 89 שדה פיהא תשובות בכמ ... אולהא הרצה שיתקיימו נכסיו (יטע בהן אדרי?)
 90 ג' שדאת פיהא ... לשק קודש ופי אלזיצית 91 ג' שדאת
 ושיר ... דספר תורה פיר' מציאת ... סבעה תצאניפי
 וסתן כראם ראנד (?) רבטה ...
 ותעליל אלזסרות אלזירות וספר תאני ופיר' ... שנ לזן סלאת וכת'
 וזוב אלזלאה ונירדלך
 ופיהא סין תשובות לבעץ רזאל אלמסמאת ...
 92 ספתאח (?) מן אלמרכל ובעץ ...
 93 שדה פיהא כת' אלזילה ...
 בשרה
 94 מז' קמעה אלזי אתמק עליה ראיי בעד כל חסאב אנעל אלזנול
 95 מזלד אחנא עשר וספר ... 96 ומזלד ... 97 מזלד הז אלמקרא

ג' תורה נביאים וכתובים . . . 98 אלמשה מנלד ואלתלמוד ד' מועד
 נשים נויקין קדשים 99 ואלהלכות מנלד 100 ואלסידור מנלד והדה אל
 עשר מנלדאח
 תקטע רבע אלורק אלבנדאדי אלמקרא ואלחיבור כ' סמר ואלמשה
 מנלסהם מסטרה כב סטרא ואלתלמוד ואלהלכות מסטרה בארבעין סטרא
 הדה אלאצול אל מו . . . אלנצף

אחצל אי שי . . . כצרת כא . . . הי או נירהא מכרה או ניר מכרה
 כל או בעין מקאבלאת או ניר מקאבלאת עלי אי ת . . . תמן ועלי אי
 תרחיב כאן בתר . . . או בניר תר . . . עלי אי מ . . . סכה כאנת
 ולא אבאלי אדא כאנת ענדי מרתבה ולו אראד עדה
 ולו מן אלאצל או אלפרע . . . ת . . . נ'

אצול אלנסך

אלמקרא ואלמשה ואלתלמוד
 ואלחיבור ואלהלכות ואלסידור

מראתב אלמרתבה אלאולי

אלנסך עלי ג' אקסאם . אלקראה פי
 אלמקרא ואל מש' ואלתל' ואלחיבור
 ואל הל' ואל סידור . ואלמרתבה אלכ'
 תלמודא רבה ותלמודקטן תצאניף (?)
 יאלמרתבה אלנ' . . .

The following remarks deal only with such of the numbered works as call for particular notice. Such commentaries or Halachoth as are referred to in numbers 2, 23, &c., are left without annotation, because there is nothing to identify their authorship; but it should not be overlooked that the originals to which they refer are in all probability the unknown works of the Geonim. Other numbers dealing with well-known books, such as treatises of the Talmud, require no notes. The word מנלד, which so frequently recurs, means "bound."

1. The *מדרש השכם* is a lost Midrash on the Pentateuch, cited by some of the earlier authorities such as the *תניא* and *מכריע*. Specimens from manuscript fragments at Jerusalem have been published there by Dr. Grünhut in 1898, with notes by Buber.

3. This is a bound copy of the Josippon or Pseudo-Josephus. Neubauer follows Zunz and Steinschneider in attributing the Josippon to an Italian Jew of Sherira's time or "perhaps a little later."

Charlemagne and other Christian worthies are referred to in the book, so that it could not be earlier than the end of the ninth century. At the date of our catalogue the book was obviously well known. Among the Adler Fragments are several containing the Arabic text with important variants from the Hebrew.

4. "Verses of Supplication," forming part of the Karaite liturgy, vide E. Adler's "Karaitica," *J. Q. R.*, XII, 678, Nos. 225 et seqq.

5. "Saadia's Siddur," vide Steinschneider as to the copy in the Bodleian, and E. Adler's "Liturgy of the Persian Jews," *J. Q. R.*, X, 584 et seqq.

6. "Rabbi Solomon's Siddur." In liturgical pieces, Ibn Gabirol often calls himself הקטן without a patronymic. Vide Pinsker, *L. K.*, 128. This may be in imitation of the Talmudical Liturgist Samuel הקטן, the author of the ברכת המינים. Among the Adler fragments is one of eight pages containing a specimen of this Siddur, of which the first four paragraphs begin as follows:—

סדרא דר' שלמה

הקטן זכ' לנ'

אלהים אל ראשון ואחרון. נעלה על כל נבחים. איחדנו ואקרא בגרון.
בראשית ברא אלהים ...

ב

ארץ במדבר יסד וקלקל. חונן מתהלך על אגודה. בעשותו ידות משקל.
ומים תיכן במדבר ...

ג

בעתו גדולות תיכן מזריו כמזם כמו שלג מצולות. נפי רשף העמיק
לצריו עושה גדולות ...

ד

נבורותיו דשא דמו להפרות. ועשב לעבודת נקשה. דשני ארץ צצו
להפרות. ותוצא הארץ דשא ...

The style is quite that of the כתר מלכות, but the Tosaphist to *Pesachim*, 114 a, refers to Rashi's Siddur as that of R. Solomon. Rashi is certainly not the author intended by our bookseller, nor indeed does he appear at all in the catalogue.

7. "Massora." As no name is mentioned, it is probably the work of Moses Ben Asher, who flourished 890–895, vide post, 73.

9. This was probably a Hebrew text of Genesis and Exodus with Saadia's translation.

10. This may be the חשמרות ס' of the Gaon Hai ben David,

who flourished 890-897, of which a fragment was edited by Harkavy, vide Halberstam, *Sefer Ha Schetaroth* (Berlin, 1898).

11. A Commentary on Ruth by an unknown writer, R. Shemaiah. He is certainly not Rashi's pupil cited by Zunz.

13. The "fourth" Talmud possibly means the fourth treatise of Seder Moed ? Shekalim.

14. A prayer-book or Siddur of

16. The Midrash *Mechilta* on Numbers. This confirms the statement of Maimonides, that the Mechilta was extant for the whole of the Pentateuch, and not for a part of Exodus only.

17. Another Midrash on Numbers, characterized by the bookseller as "very rare."

18. The "Mishna" of R. Eliezer. Is this the *Pirke R. Eliezer* which is sometimes called *Boraitha* ?

19. This is the Boraitha of Samuel on Intercalations. It is mentioned by early authorities, but no trace of it remains, and in fact it has even been confounded with the *Pirke R. Eliezer*.

20 to 22. הלכות . . . הלכות. The Halachic works of Isaac ben Giat, vide J. Derenbourg, *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie*, V, 397, and Dukes' *L. B. des Orients*, 1848, p. 536. Bamberger has published specimens of these Halachoth under an erroneous title.

23. A miscellany beginning with a fragment of Halachoth Berachoth by a disciple of R. Samuel the "Master," probably the Nagid Ibn Nagrela. It is just possible that the author was the Nagid's son and successor Joseph, who was executed at Granada in 1066, and the Catalogue may have been written shortly after this date, when it was dangerous to mention the name of the fallen Vizier, or to call Samuel by his title of Nagid. In the Adler collection, there is a long and curious letter to this same Joseph Hanagid, with every eulogy on his Jewish learning and Gentile influence.

24. A Commentary on the four latter prophets by [Jehuda] ibn Bileam, who flourished ca. 1070. Derenbourg published that on Isaiah in the *R. É. J.*, XVII, 172, and XXIII, 206.

26. [Moses] ibn Gikatilia's Commentary on Isaiah and the twelve minor Prophets.

30. A "large fragment" of the Responsa of R. Zemach [ben Paltoi the Gaon]. This Gaon flourished in the tenth century, but no ש"ת of his are known, vide post, 67.

31. A packet of letters.

32. (Saadia's) Commentary on the *Sefer Jezira* ; his Responsa ; the "Proverbs" of Ben Sira. This is the latest reference to the Hebrew Text of Ecclesiasticus until the recent discoveries. The collocation with Saadia is curious, vide post, 77.

33. A bundle of many things.
35. The Key to the Talmud. This is probably the ס' המפתח of R. Nissim Gaon, beginning of the eleventh century.
36. His סגולת סתרים—the Hebrew Text. Both these works are known but neither is extant.
37. The Midrash *Jelamdenu*, vide edit. Buber.
39. A commentary on Talmud Treatise Bechoroth, by R. Baruch b. Isaac b. Albali. He was born in 977 and was adopted by his father's generous rival the Rif.
41. Commentary on four Treatises of Moed by אר"ם "the Master," probably Samuel ha Nagid, cp. post, 53.
42. The Book of Inheritance of Saadia (published by Derenbourg), and a work by [Samuel] b. Hofni, the father-in-law of Hai Gaon (flourished in tenth century).
43. The laws of Possession; of Pledges; of —, by Samuel b. Hofni "all bound together."
44. The Duties of Judges, by the same.
45. A vocabulary of the Halachoth Gedoloth and Berachoth.
46. מושקין is Mo'ed Katon.
47. Hai Gaon's ה' שמיטה.
48. Medical treatises.
49. Grammatical treatises.
51. The Commentary on Moses b. Ezra's Sepher Anak or Tarshish (vide édition Gunzbourg). This was a commentary written by the author himself and is not to be confounded with later commentaries, such as that of Abraham Eliezer Hadayan ibn Chalfan in MS. Adler 258, vide *J. Q. R.*, XII, 682.
53. Commentaries on other treatises of the Talmud, by Samuel ha Nagid, cp. ante, 41.
54. A Commentary on Talmud Tr. Shebuoth by (Joseph b. Meir Levi Ibn Megas, born 1077?). This seems to have been printed in Prague, 1826. Ibn Megas seems, however, too late.
55. This is perhaps the Pseudo-Aristotelian work "De Pomo."
56. Samuel b. Hofni's Commentary on Jebamoth, vide ante, 42.
57. A commentary on the Minor Prophets, by Ibn Berachel (?).
- 58 and 59. Works by Samuel b. Hofni against the Karaites (אלר"ם = refutation).
60. A work on the enfranchisement of slaves; on bailments; on neighbours, by (Samuel) ben Hofni, and a work by R. Hai.
61. Works by R. Chananel, end of eleventh century.
62. Ben Hofni on Sales. This work Ben Jacob thought was not by Ben Hofni at all and the reference here proves him wrong.
63. A "Guide" in two volumes, by Ben Taib (?) and another work, "Splendour," by the same.

64. Commentary on Canticles, by Alfasi, beginning of eleventh century. No such work by the Rif is known to bibliographers.

65. A Commentary, "אונן" (?), by Ibn Gikatilia.

66. Talmudical Treatises by the Gaonim Sherira and Hai, end of tenth century.

67. A Talmud Lexicon. Perhaps that of Zemach b. Paltoi Gaon (vide ante 30); cp. Rapoport, Rabbi Nathan, note 2, *ZDMG.*, XII, 320. Kohut, Preface to Aruch, XVII-XXI, Vienna, 1878.

68. A bound copy of the Book on the Unity of God by David al Mokammaz al Raki (ninth to tenth cent.). Nothing by this author has hitherto been known, he is quoted by Ibn Ezra and others. Among the Adler fragments the title and first page of this work has been preserved. It reads as follows:—

כתאב פיה מסאיל פי אל תוחיד ותפסיר נבט (?) עשר הספרות עלי מריק
אל עקל ואלכתאב לראוד בן מרון אלמקמץ אלרקי
בשם יי אל עולם

כתיב ישקני מנשיקות פיהו כי טובים דודיך מיין תפסירה יקבלני מן קבל
פיה לאן מורתך אכתר מן מחבה אלכמר.

אפתח מולפה באן קאל תבארך אלה אלה ישראל אלו אחד אלקדים
אלמברע אלמכחרע עיון אלמונודא לא מן שי אלמערף ללנאמקין מא בה
יצלח אלי אלן[נאח] אלקדים ותסבה ותקדם פוק מא תבלנה מאקה
אלמכלוקין. אמא בעד פאן אפתחנא

להוא אלפסוק הו למשאבה עיון הוה אלקצה ודלך אן הו אנלאל למא
שהדת לה אלעקול אלסלימה מן אלאפאת ותחקקה ללאפהאם אלמננאה
מן אל בלאיא באנה ואחד אחד לא צד לה ינאועה פי מלכה ולא צד לה
יזילה מן קדרתה שהדת לה אל וחראניה באנה אלקדים אלמחרת סאיר
אלמונודא ועלי אן אלכתב קד נטקת בהרא פאמא באנה ואחרא בחראניה
פקולה אין עוד מלברו ואיצא זולתי אין אלהים ואמא באן לא צד לה פקולה
אני יי ואין עוד אלהים ואפס כמוני ואיצא ואין אלהים עמדי פאמא באנה
ואחרא ולא צד יצילה ען קדרתה או ינאועה פי מלכה פבקולה ומי יאמר
אליו מה תעשה וקאל ולא איתי. . . בידיה ויימר ליה מה עברת

"Book containing questions as to the Unity of God and the rational and traditional explanation of the ten sephiroth by David Ben Mervan al Makamez al Raki:—

In the name of God the Master of the Universe.

It is written, 'He (God) will embrace me with the kisses of his mouth, for his love is stronger than passion for wine.'

The author commences by saying, 'Blessed be God, the God of Israel, the only One, the Eternal, who hath created out of nought the chief things existing; He who teaches to man that by which he may attain eternal salvation. May he be glorified and sanctified beyond the power of his creators.'

Verily if we have commenced by citing this verse it is because it presents an analogy with the principal object of this treatise. In effect it is a homage to that which is evidenced by the souls healthy and sick alike, and certified by intelligence exempt from infirmity, that God is one, and that he hath no rival who can dispute sovereignty with him, nor any antagonist who could have the power to deprive him of his might. His Unity demonstrates that he is eternal, and that he has created all which exists, and the Scripture pronounced that this is so. With regard to his Unity is the word of Scripture: 'And there is none beside him and there is no God besides him.' As to his having no rival, it is the text, 'I am God and there is no other God and none like unto me,' and again, 'And there is no God with me.' As to his having no antagonist, who could deprive him of his strength or dispute his sovereignty with him, then the text: 'And he shall say unto me what doest thou¹.'

70. A bound volume of letters.

71. The Work of Chivi Al Balchi, the famous sceptic whom Saadia so vehemently denounces in his Refutation of Chivi Al Balchi כְּתוּבֵי אֶלְבַּחִי אֶלְרִד חַי אֶלְבַּחִי, vide Israelsohn, *R. É. J.*, XVII, 310.

72. Arithmetic.

73. The Massoretic Differences between *Ben-Asher* and *Ben-Naphtali* (vide Ginsburg's Introduction to the Hebrew Bible, cap. X), and a Commentary on the Mode of Reading the Law.

77. A work on Punctuation. A Karaite Commentary on Samuel (cp. MS. Adler 215, *J. Q. R.*, XII, 677). R. Hai's Commentary on Chagiga: The Commentary on the *Sefer Ha-galuy*. The expression חֲסִידוֹת is significant, and its use in this catalogue has been referred to by Mayer Lambert in the *R. É. J.*, XL, 260. M. Lambert says: "Ce titre s'appliquerait fort bien aux fragments que M. Harkavy et moi avons publiés." Probably Saadia himself made a commentary on his *Sefer Ha-galuy* in the same way as Moses b. Ezra did with the ס' עֲנִי (vide ante 51) and the fragments extant are more likely to belong to this commentary than to its text. This fact perhaps accounts for some of the difficulties which Mr. Margoliouth has felt. In Harkavy, p. 180, Saadia says: אֵלֶם אֲשֶׁר לְתִרְנָם וּלְמִרְשָׁא אֶת הַסֵּפֶר הַזֶּה וְאָמַר כִּי הוּא הַמּוֹכֵחַ

¹ Vide Steinschneider, 880. This is an extract from what Ibn Ezra calls the ס' הַיִּידוּד. Steinschneider is correct as to the name.

מכל הפירושים כי מחברו הוא יפרשו וזוהי היותר רואה ומבין במטרתו ותכנו. "However I will try to translate and explain this book, and I assert that this will be the best of all commentaries for its author explains it, and he knows better than any and understands his intention and purport" (vide ante 32, where the תפסיר of the *Sefer Jezira* is mentioned without the addition of the name of its undoubted author Saadia). The *Sefer Ha-galuy* itself would seem to be an anonymous and somewhat mystical work by Saadia. The *Tafsir*, however, was more precise and more controversial, and has therefore, in part at least, survived its subject. If this theory be correct, there would be no difficulty in explaining Raabad's ignorance of its true authorship.

78. ? . . . A treatise on the Sabbath Light by Saadia. This is an unknown work by the Gaon, and certainly one of his polemics against the Karaites (vide Poznanski, *J. Q. R.*, XIII, 329).

79. A commentary, perhaps by R. Chananel. Part of the Arabic *Megillat Setarim*, by R. Nissim ben Jacob of Kairouan. Some specimens of this work were published by Dr. Goldenthal of Vienna (vide loc. cit. 326 under nos. 35 and 36).

80. Some lexicographical work, the first part treating of roots (loc. cit. 330).

82. A treatise on the ineffable name. These forty-two letters are already mentioned in the Talmud Sanhedrin.

84. Section of a commentary on Tr. Chullin by Al Kanzi (vide post, 85).

For this name, borne by a Karaite, cp. Steinschneider's "Introduction to Arabic Literature of the Jews," 286 b, *J. Q. R.*, XI, p. 128, and XII, p. 132; *Jedaia Kenzi*, Neubauer, 2371.

85. Thirteen sections of Al Kanzi's Commentaries (vide post, 88).

86. Section of the Midrash Moed—an unknown Midrash. And a section of the Bible¹, &c. (ib. 330).

87. The Doctor's Handbook, a bundle of . . . on mourning. A work on shew-bread (or called לחם הפנים). And the treatise on the Sabbath Lamp (vide ante, 78). Thirteen sections, letters, and *responsa* of Rabbi Jacob. Possibly this is the anonymous astronomical work חקית השמים referred to by Ben Jacob, sub voce השאלות.

88. Book of the Creation of the Dust and the Prayers of Al Kanzi (vide ante, 84). And the desecrator of wine. A dissertation on Chullin and Hilchot *Rosh Hashana*.

¹ As to the use of the "twenty-four" as equivalent to the Bible see Bacher, *Ein Hebräisch-Persisches Wörterbuch*, Budapest, 1900, p. 31.

89. A packet containing autograph (?) *responsa*, beginning הַרְצָה, &c. (*Baba Bathra*).

91. The reason for *defecta* and *plena*, the *Sefer Taggin*, a book by Ibn Salah (?).

A work on the duty of prayer, &c.

93. The key of rules. In the name of God the Merciful.

94. Fifteen divisions have I found in making up the account of which I give the heads (*lit.* roots).

Bound. The twelve prophets.

Bound. The three Bible divisions—Pentateuch, Prophets, and Hagiographa.

Mishna, bound. The four Talmudic orders—Mo'ed, Nashim, Nezikin and Kadashim (*vide ante*, 13).

Halachot bound.

Prayer-books bound.

These ten bound volumes are quarto, Bagdad, paper leaves.

The Bible and (miscellaneous) compilations¹ have ten lines to the page, the Mishna twenty-two, and the Talmud and Halachot forty lines.

These are the fifteen heads.

I will buy all things that may be offered . . . whether duplicates or not . . . in whole or in part, in order or disorder (i. e. odd volumes), no matter the price, no matter the subject . . . or otherwise . . . And I care not.

The order. The first order: the copies are of three kinds:—

i. Bible, Mishna, Talmud, compilations¹, and Liturgy.

ii. Talmud, large and small (would this mean the abbreviated² compilation of Alfasi or perhaps the קטנות ספכרות קטנות Minor Treatises).

¹ Poznański suggests that אֲדוּנָה = Maimonides' מִשְׁנֵה הַדָּוָה.

² In the *Hebräische Bibliographie*, V, 1, p. 18 (Jan.-Feb., 1901), Professor Steinschneider takes exception to our reference to al Raki (or Rakki) that "nothing by this author has hitherto been known, he is quoted by Ibn Ezra and others" (*J. Q. R.*, XIII, 60). This does not mean "nichts von diesem Autor." What we meant to imply was that the fragment published was the first known piece of al Rakki's original work.

PROFESSOR BLAU ON THE BIBLE
AS A BOOK

■

PROFESSOR BLAU ON THE BIBLE AS A BOOK ¹.

It is not often that a monograph printed in the "Program" of a Seminary attains as much literary merit or is of such fascinating interest as that now under review. Those who, while admiring the plodding industry and formidable statistics displayed by Dr. Christian Ginsburg in his Massoretic labours on the Hebrew Bible, have too often felt that they lacked something in scholarship, will welcome Dr. Blau's new booklet. It is eminently critical and "wissenschaftlich," and though its 200 pages are complete in itself, the monograph is only the first² of a series of studies of the Hebrew Text, which, if they carry out the promise of the "Buchwesen," will be really epoch-making.

In the present volume, the learned Professor treats of the externals of the Hebrew Bible, dispassionately and without bias, as though himself an outsider. The conclusions to which he arrives largely support the authenticity of the traditional text, but it is by the scholar's, not the theologian's road that he travels. Though his subject is ancient Hebrew books in general, the "althebräische Bücher" with which he deals are almost exclusively biblical. The authorities he quotes are hardly less ancient. With some display of self-denial he limits himself to original Talmud literature—Mishna, Midrash, and Gemara. To him even the minor treatises Soferim (or rather, as he points out, "Sefarim") and Sefer Tora seem too modern; they are post-talmudic and like the corpus of the Massora only to be used where they quote earlier and original authorities which have been lost. The principle is a good one. He will have nothing of hearsay evidence, and only uses secondary evidence where that at first hand is quite unavailable. Accordingly most of the authorities cited are at least 1800 years old. At that date, the author maintains, no new-fangled notions of Hellenism influenced the conservatism applied by Orientals to public copies of the Scriptures. It was only in the twelfth century that R. Jacob Tam, and after him R. Asher b. Jechiel, discussed whether modern methods might not be applied in the preparation of scrolls for the Synagogue.

¹ *Studien zum althebräischen Buchwesen und zur biblischen Literaturgeschichte*, von Prof. Dr. Ludwig Blau, Budapest, 1902. Printed with the twenty-fifth annual report of the Landes-Rabbiner Schule at Budapest.

² The author's *Zur Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift* to some extent covers the same ground as the projected series.

With mediaeval MSS., of which the earliest dated one is a codex of the Prophets of St. Petersburg of 915 A.D.¹, the author does not concern himself. His task it is to reconstruct the form of a book such as would have been written and used by the ancient Hebrews of Bible times. Such a book would generally be a part of Scripture, but it might also have been a translation, or apocryphal, or a Midrash² and very rarely not Jewish at all or even un-Jewish. The author claims that here he is breaking new ground, and he does not scruple to suggest a hypothesis where facts fail him. Birt and Wattenbach are his chief sources for classical bookmaking in general, though the Hebrews were even more reticent than the Greeks and Romans about the outsides of their books. Their culture was not inferior to that of their classical contemporaries but their conservatism preserved for them a far older archetypal text than even Homer succeeded in retaining.

The following précis of the work was prepared for the writer's personal use, but as the subject, though unfamiliar, is of great importance for Bible criticism, it has been suggested that it might be of service to English readers generally. It is only a précis and, of course, lays no claim to originality.

I.

Blau first deals with the outward form of the books:—

- (a) Their material.
- (b) Shape.
- (c) Length.
- (d) Size ("Format").
- (e) Distribution.
- (f) The archetype and oldest MSS.

(a) The first MATERIAL used was stone (see Job xix. 24) covered with chalk. The word for writing meant engraving or scratching (חָקַק, חָרַח) and the pen was a graver. Ezek. iv. 1 knew bricks as writing-material, and Jer. xvii. 13 earthenware or pottery; wooden and perhaps metal tablets must also have been used (Num. xvii. 17, Ezek. xxxvii. 15, and 1 Macc. xiv. 26). Such materials, however, though useful for the legislator and recorder, were not applicable to literature, and there must have been some more pliant material for the "Sefer." סֵפֶר occurs 182 times in the Bible, and its writer the סוֹפֵר 48 times. כָּתַב, the common word for writing, occurs 220 times, whereas all its five other synonyms occur but very rarely. What was the writing-material? It was in such general use that it is never

¹ A facsimile of a Hebrew Arabic document of 831 from the Geniza appeared in the *Jewish Chronicle*.

² Agada אגדה.

mentioned, but it could only have been leather or papyrus. Skins were common enough among a pastoral folk like the Israelites, and papyrus grew in the neighbourhood of Gennesaret. But Dr. Blau rejects Strack's view and unhesitatingly pronounces for leather. Herodotus and Diodorus witness that the Persians and other barbarians wrote on oxhide, and even in Egypt leather preceded papyrus. In the sixth century B.C. the Athenians wrote Homer on wooden tablets and skins. The letter of Aristæas, written 200 B.C., describes the sacred scrolls brought to Egypt for the purposes of the Septuagint Translation as having been upon "*διφθέρας*," the Hebrew characters illuminated in gold, and the "leather wondrously prepared and with invisible seams between the skins¹." The earliest post-biblical literature of the Jews frequently mentions papyrus but unanimously condemns its use for ritual purposes. *ספר* originally meant the rubbed surface of the skin from which the hair had been scratched off. Frequent references to the writing-materials of the Greeks in Jewish literature show that papyrus was very cheap, and quite commonly used by the Jews, not only for writing but for domestic utensils and even shoes. Acknowledgements of debt, receipts, bonds, &c., were frequently written on potsherds, but also on papyrus. John ii. 12 speaks of not writing with ink and paper, and the frequent injunctions of the Rabbis not to write Bible texts on papyrus show that in the first century papyrus must have been frequently used.

There were three kinds of writing-skins, generally deer-skin²:—

- (1) *גל* or *עור* Leather for *ספר*, with the hair off but none of the skin peeled off.
- (2) *קלף* parchment of split skin, Aramaic parchment.
- (3) *דוכסוסטום* *ξυστός*, *ξυστός*, formerly adjective for *קלף*, a Greek parchment.

The Gaon Hai distinguished (2) and (3) thus:—*קלף* was the outer hair side, *דוכסוסטום* the inner flesh side. Both were to be written on the "Spaltseite" the side of cleavage. But he is probably wrong, and (2) is the inner skin when cleft from the flesh side, and (3) is the middle skin when cleft from both flesh and hair side.

Jews remained through the Middle Ages adept preparers of parch-

¹ Mr. Thackeray (*J. Q. R.*, XV, 370) translates "the previous parchments, whereon was inscribed the law in gold in the Jewish characters, the material being wonderfully prepared, and the joining of the several leaves being rendered imperceptible." He suggests that *διφθέρας* has come into the text through dittography of *διφθέρας*.

² J. Meg., 74 d 53, gazelle-skin; Bab. Bat., 14 a, calf-skin; J. Sab., 14 c 15, fowl-skin; Kelim, 10. 1, fish-skin.

ment. Charles IV, in 1349, pawned the Jews to the Frankforters but reserved to himself and his successors the right to exact parchment from them.

In Bible times the complete book was often sealed (Isa. xix. 11, 12), perhaps to protect it from being fingered by readers and rubbed [תורה חתומה נתנה] Gittin, 60a].

(b) Its SHAPE was a *Roll*; מנלת ספר (Jer. xxxvi) is an unwritten scroll. Ps. xl. 8 seems to support the Talmudic tradition that the Psalmist came into the Temple with the Scroll of the Law. On the Arch of Titus a scroll is being carried in the triumphal procession, cf. Josephus, *Bell.* VII, 5. 5. Jerome seems only to have known scrolls, and the Talmud describes a single one containing the whole תנך [Baba Bathra, 13. 6]. Each child had its scroll, and "the Romans, after the capture of Jerusalem, wrapped its school-children in their scrolls and burnt them," J. Taanith, 62 a, היו כורכים כל אחד ואחד, בספרו ושורפין אותו.

There was usually a stick at the beginning and an unwritten space sufficient to surround it, and at the end an unwritten space sufficient to surround the whole scroll (Baba Bathra, 13 b, 14 a). The ס"ת had two sticks. In the fourth century scrolls were still prevalent, and in a sixth-century picture Jeremiah is depicted unrolling a scroll, and Moses receives the law in the shape of a scroll. The codex, or modern book, first appeared in the third century. The Jews of antiquity had Hebrew books in the form of scrolls only. To open and close a book is נלל, to roll, in Aramaic כנך.

(c) LENGTH. It would seem that each biblical writing originally constituted a scroll for itself. Jeremiah was to write a scroll (xxxvi. 2, 32). The twelve minor poets were originally separate, but *because of their size* they have been regarded as one book ever since the first settlement of the canon. Sirach xlix. 10 talks of שנים עשר, Josephus, Talmud, and Midrash all treat them as one. But so far as authority went the whole of the Old Testament was as one. The Pentateuch scroll is only secondary to that of the whole Law, though it eventually superseded it by reason of its more manageable size. The division into five was arbitrary, but excellent, and was induced by size. The Massorites, and even Midrash, like the most modern of the Biblical critics, give other divisions.

- | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Genesis is in 2 parts | (1) ס' בריאת העולם or ס' יצירה | The Creation. |
| | (2) ס' הישר or ס' הישרים | The Patriarchs, |
| | | Joshua xiii; 2 Sam. i. 18. |
| Exodus is in 3 parts | (3) ס' יציאת מצרים | The Exodus. |
| | (4) Laws. | |
| | (5) The erection of the Tabernacle. | |

- Leviticus is in 2 parts (6) מ' תורת כהנים The Priests.
 (7) מ' הקרבנות The Sacrifices.
 Numbers is in 2 parts (8) מ' הפקודים Numbers.
 (9) מ' המסעות Journeyings.
 Deuteronomy is in 2 parts (10) מ' משנה תורה Recapitulation.
 (11) מ' פטירת משה Death of Moses.

Dr. Ginsburg (Introduction, p. 461) quotes from a Bible codex of the thirteenth century an evidently early tradition as to the Pentateuch:—

מ' ראשון והוא מ' בריאת העולם והיחס
 מ' שני והוא מ' יציאת מצרים ומתן תורה
 מ' שלישי והוא מ' תורת כהנים וקרבנות
 מ' רביעי והוא מ' הפקודים והמסעות
 מ' חמישי והוא מ' משנה תורה ופטירת משה

The division of the Pentateuch, then, was introduced out of technical considerations, but it occurs in the Samaritan Bible and is therefore at least as old as Ezra. The size, therefore, of a book about 400 B.C. would vary between that of Leviticus and Genesis. Dr. Blau then ingeniously adopts an edition of the British Bible Society as a pattern, and gives by the number of its pages the relative sizes of the books:—

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Genesis 36·3 | 10. Isaiah . . . 18·5 + 13·5 = 32·5 |
| 2. Exodus 30·5 | Isaiah xl-xlvi is the work of |
| 3. Leviticus 22 | an unknown author, but its |
| 4. Numbers 31 | size, 13·5, was too small for an |
| 5. Deuteronomy 27 | independent scroll and it |
| 6. Joshua 29 | went better with the shortest |
| 7. Judges 19 | of the Great Prophets than |
| Small and so in many Codices | with the Minor Prophets |
| Ruth accompanies it. | which which would have |
| 8. Samuel I and II 24·5 + 20·5 = 45·7 | become too bulky (29·5 + |
| Samuel and Kings are really | 13·5 = 43). |
| one. The LXX calls the | 11. Jeremiah 41 |
| whole Kings, and the division | 12. Ezekiel 37 |
| is purely mechanical, "mit | 13. The Twelve Prophets . 29·5 |
| der Scheere gemacht wor- | 14. Psalms 40 |
| den." Kings now begins | 15. Proverbs 22 |
| with a 1. | 16. Job 16 |
| 9. Kings I and II 24·5 + 23 = 47·5 | 17. Chronicles 48 |
| | 18. Ezra (Nehemiah) . . . 18 |

1-9 are in chronological order, and so with the later prophets, 10-13, in most MSS. and the five earliest editions. But with 13 the order is broken, and in Baba Bathra, 14 b, the reason given why the prophecy of Hosea does not head the list is because of its small size. And size seems the true reason—especially having regard to the RECEPTACLES in which the scrolls were kept. Ancient Hebrew books had no title, and the first author who gives his name was Jesus the son of Sirach. The nearest approach to a title was in Ezekiel's vision of a book, ii. 10.

Zechariah ix-xiv is attributed by Bible critics to two anonymous authors, and they with "Malachi," which is not a name, seem to have been appended to the Roll of the twelve prophets as fitting nowhere else. In the prophetic canon no anonymous writing is introduced as an independent work. Both passages begin *נעמד*, and the only reason why they are not appended to Malachi would seem to be that they were always regarded as much older.

Dr. Blau, in his criticism of Dr. Ginsburg, in *JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, XII, 223, points out that Ginsburg's subdivision into eight of the orders of the Hagiographa is reducible to three. Six MSS. follow the Talmud and give the order:—

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Ruth. | 7. Lamentations. |
| 2. Psalms. | 8. Daniel. |
| 3. Job. | 9. Esther. |
| 4. Proverbs. | 10. Ezra-Nehemiah. |
| 5. Ecclesiastes. | 11. Chronicles. |
| 6. Canticles. | |

Job is interposed between the Davidian and the Solomonian writings, but the order is otherwise chronological, perhaps David was regarded as the author of Job. But anyhow Job being poetical, had to join the poets. Dr. Blau argues as to the division of Chronicles and Ezra, "Die Chronik füllte eine Rolle, die Genesis und Exodus voll aufnehmen konnte," $36 + 30 = 48 + 18$.

In those MSS. in which Chronicles is the first of the Hagiographa, it is because of its size; size mattered less than chronology at a later date when the canon of the Hagiographa was fixed. The canon of the Prophets had been settled much earlier. Therefore in those MSS., Ezra-Nehemiah, from which Chronicles had been sundered, remains the last. They were sundered because of the great size (66) of the whole, but the division was on a chronological basis—pre-exilic and post-exilic. That they were originally one is proved by the identity of the two first verses of Ezra with the last two of Chronicles. Such catch-verses are found in classical MSS. and even on the tablets of Cuneiform inscriptions.

Psalms. The division of Psalms into five books is much more ancient than R. Chija (200 A. D.) who says (Kiddushin, 33a) that he taught Simon b. Juda the Patriarch two-fifths. And here (p. 59) there is perhaps a little inconsistency on the author's part. He says "Die Fünfteilung ist sehr beliebt geworden auch im Matthäusevangelium und bei Papias"; but a few pages earlier, in discussing the Pentateuch (p. 48), that the number five at least among the Jews was "keine heilige und sonst keine gebräuchliche," and therefore a fivefold division could only be induced by external considerations. Probably, however, the apparent inconsistency would be explained by Dr. Blau as due to the analogy of the Pentateuch, which, once divided into five, established a sacred precedent. But whatever the reason for dividing into five, why was it divided at all? The relative size of Psalms is 40 to the 36 of Genesis, so that on first thoughts it would not be too bulky, but as it was written in stichoi, and as the 147 Psalms had to be interspaced, and as, moreover, it was to be sung, and had therefore to be written in larger characters in order to be easily legible, its relative size would easily exceed 100, and five scrolls would be none too short. That the division was due to chronological considerations, and the first book the oldest and so on, Dr. Blau doubts, though he reserves discussion of the point for a future opportunity.

Ecclesiastes a separate Scroll.—The theory that there was an intermixture of the pages is rejected by Dr. Blau as it was separately written on a scroll. Such separate scrolls were the books Josephus took from the Romans. Luke xx. 42 talks of the *Βιβλος ψαλμῶν*. ספרי תילים אחד וס' איוב ומשלות—כתובה From Baba Bathra, 11a and 13b, we see that there were scrolls which contained the whole תנ"ך as well as the "eight prophets" and Hagiographa separately.

The original division was into two—תורה and קבלה, and תורה, מקרא and נביאים. כתובים and חקש was a third and later division and לך seems to have often been on one scroll. A fragment of a book, whether for paedagogic or other purposes, e. g. סוטה, is called מנלה if independent, and פרשה if regarded as part of a whole.

Esther was originally מנלה and the only book besides the Pentateuch admitted into the liturgy. Afterwards, besides the five scrolls one had מ' סתרים, מ' חסידים (J. Ber., 14a 12), מ' סתרים (B. M., 92a). The order of study in Palestine was first לחמא (Tablet of Letters), then מנלה fragment, then a book, then the Bible. The order in Jelandenu (ed. Grünhut, *Likkutim*, V, 160) is לחמא מנילחא בראשית כל המקרא ששה ספרים תורת כהנים מכלתא תוספתא תלמוד ואגדתא.

And in Deut. R. c. 8, fol. 23 Wilna, ואח"כ בספר, חולה קורא במני לה ואח"כ בכת' ואח"כ בנביאים ואח"כ בכת' משהו נטר את המקרא שונה את התלמוד ואח"כ בהלכות ואח"כ באגדות ואח"כ באגדות. Amulets containing Scripture texts were in vogue in the third century.

(d) **FORMAT.** The external size of books was mostly very *small*—the whole scroll could be held in one hand (Ezek. ii. 9). The ancient ס"ח looked like a man's arm and was carried about everywhere—its height equalled its circumference, and as there were 300,000 separate letters in the scroll the letters must have been small, and Jerome, in the fourth century, says that the Hebrew script was almost too small to be legible.

(e) **DISTRIBUTION.** Books were rare in Jehoshaphat's time, and in Ezra's, and in 1 Macc. iii. 48 we see that the Syrians searched for books, and Antiochus Epiphanes was the first confiscator. In the letter of the Jerusalemites to their Egyptian brethren, we read that "Judas gathered all the books which had been scattered during the war (against the Syrians), and they are now with us. If you want any, send for them" (2 Macc. ii. 14, 15). With the Pharisees and their love for the letter the production of copies of the law greatly increased. On the Day of Atonement, after the High Priest's blessing, each man brought his Torah from his house and read it in the Temple to show it off (Joma, 70a) ואח"כ כל אחד ואחד מביא ס"ח מביתו וקורא בו כרי' להראות חזונו לרבים. Every community had a collection of scrolls always, often private individuals. Even found books were to be tenderly treated and not too often read for fear of being rubbed (J. Baba Metzia, 8 d 8)—each scholar wrote his own scroll. Even heathens possessed them, and sometimes wrote them, and they might be used. Children could use Samaritan bibles, which were like the Jews', except that Deut. xi. 30 adds שכם. One might buy but not sell Torahs. Jerome talks of collections, and cases, and cupboards of books and "Jewish Archives" ("de Archivis Judaeorum"). The text was preserved by the care and reverence in which the Scrolls were held, and if one were burnt the Jew mourned as for a parent.

(f) **THE OLDEST CODICES,** tradition said, were the thirteen written by Moses for each tribe. Levi's was preserved in the Ark; Jeremiah preserved the Scrolls from fire; Ezra restored them. In Mur, near Kahira, is a codex said to have been written by Ezra, but Sirach xlix. 13 sings not of Ezra but of Nehemiah. Sirach xliv mentions all the sacred books of the Temple Archives, and Josephus (*Arch.* V, 1. 17) says that they were preserved in the Temple and carried in Titus's triumph. Aristæus and Demetrios witness how corrupt Egyptian codices of the Pentateuch were till Ptolemy borrowed the Temple Codices. The

three Temple Codices were: Sifre, ii. 356 'מֵעוֹן ס' זַעֲמוֹטִים ס' הָיָא on Deut. iii. 27 and J. Taanith, 68a 47 'מֵעוֹנִי ס' סִפְרִים מִצְאוּ בְּעוֹרָה ס' זַעֲמוֹטִים וְס' הָיָא בְּאֶחָד מִצְאוּ כְּתוּב מֵעוֹן אֱלֹהִי קֹדֶם וּבִשְׁנַיִם כְּתוּב מֵעוֹנָה אֱלֹהִי קֹדֶם וְקִיּוּמוֹ שְׁנִים וּבְמִלּוֹ אֶחָד בְּאֶחָד מִצְאוּ כְּתוּב וַיִּשְׁלַח אֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת זַעֲמוֹטִי בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (שְׁמוֹת כ"ד ה') וּבִשְׁנַיִם כְּתוּב וַיִּשְׁלַח אֶת נֹעַר בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְקִיּוּמוֹ שְׁנִים וּבְמִלּוֹ אֶחָד בְּאֶחָד מִצְאוּ כְּתוּב תִּשְׁעָ הִיא וּבִשְׁנַיִם כְּתוּב אַחַת עֶשְׂרֵה הִיא וּבְמִלּוֹ אֶחָד וְקִיּוּמוֹ שְׁנִים. This explanation is too far-fetched to be acceptable—it is only Volksetymologie. The Scrolls were found after the destruction of the Temple, and then named after the places where they were found. So in Aboth d. R. Nathan, II, v. c. 46, 'מֵעוֹנִי ס' זַעֲמוֹטִים ס' הָיָא near Tiberias; 'מֵעוֹנִי ס' זַעֲמוֹטִים ס' הָיָא is a proper name; [בְּרַחֲמֵי חַיִּים (Chagiga, 96) בְּרַחֲמֵי חַיִּים (Abot, 523) בֵּן הָאָהָא] is probably a small codex. In Mishna Moed Katan, III, 4 read 'מֵעוֹנִי ס' זַעֲמוֹטִים ס' הָיָא. It was the Model Codex. It would seem *pace* Dr. Blau, that each of the ancient synagogues preserved a 'מֵעוֹנִי ס' זַעֲמוֹטִים ס' הָיָא as a model codex, as a "help" to the scribe; and the confusion between "Ezra" and "Azara" led to a whole mass of synagogue legend throughout the East. The best-known instance is the so-called "Scroll of Ezra" which was the pride of the Synagogue in Old Cairo before the discovery there of its famous *Geniza*.

The writer found in Bokhara a copy of the rare *Ixar Pentateuch* of 1489, at the end of each part of which was the statement that it had been corrected by the *Codex Ezra*. Of Tunis D. Cazés, in his *Essai sur l'Histoire des Israélites de Tunisie* (Paris, 1889, p. 85), writes: "Mentionnons ici une tradition assez répandue chez les Juifs de Tunisie, d'après laquelle le Rabbîn Abraham ibn Ezra aurait été à Tunis. On conserve dans le grand Temple, dans un placard muré, une Bible qu'on dit avoir appartenu au célèbre commentateur. Cela est peu croyable et il est plus simple de supposer que la tradition n'est venue que plus tard, pour expliquer l'existence du livre qui était un simple ספר עזרה, destiné à faire les corrections aux rouleaux de la Loi; plus tard, lorsque les livres imprimés devinrent communs, le ספר עזרה devint facilement ספר עזרה, et pour expliquer la présence de ce volume au temple, on a imaginé le voyage d'ibn Ezra. Quoi qu'il en soit, on a placé sur la porte murée de ce placard, devant laquelle il y a toujours une lampe allumée, une inscription dont voici la copie:—

פפר הרב רב' אברהם בן עזרא זי"ע א

כל מי שמדליק נר לפניו אשדיו

בעולם הזה וטוב לו לעולם הבא אמן."

Does Dr. Blau by "Mur" near Kahira perhaps mean the "wall" of the Synagogue?

Other Codices were those of the scribe R. Meir and Severus (vide Epstein in Chwolson's *Festschrift*), also the Psalters of R. Chijja and R. Chanin bar Rab, J. Megilla [72 a 7 J. Succa, 53 d]. Papyrus scrolls could last, in Galen's opinion, not more than 300 years, leather was more durable, but not the ink. The book-worm סַקָּק and the mouse were the enemies of the book, but they were protected by their traditional sanctity לפי חבתן היא כוּמָאָתָן [Jadaim, IV, 6].

II.

THE INNER FORM OF OLD HEBREW BOOKS.

I. COLUMNS AND MARGINS—"Opisthography," i. e. writing on both sides, occurred in private writings but not in the Scriptures. Ezek. ii. 10 is a witness to its rarity. A column was a door דֶּרֶךְ or דֶּלֶת. In J. Meg., 71 d and Menachot, 39 a the space to be left between two columns is a thumb-breadth לִפְנֵי מִלּוֹא נֹרֵל; the space between two books of the Pentateuch should be four lines, between two of the minor prophets three. In a scroll of the Prophets one may begin at the beginning of a column and end at the end, but in the minor prophets in the middle (so as to avoid the scroll being afterwards divided). The width of a column should be three times לְמִשְׁפַּחְתֵּיכֶם. Of the dilatable letters אֶהְיֶה there is of course no trace so early. In *Tosifta Sabb.*, 13. 5 (129 a) אֶהְיֶה מִצִּילֵן אֶתֶּן would seem to mean *not margins* but *evangelium*. Further on in the same passage is a reference to Ben Sira and other books. Dr. Blau accounts for the incorporation with Isaiah of the second Isaiah by the fact that the one may have ended and the other begun a new column; but when he similarly accounts for the constituents of Zechariah, "Dasselbe ist auch von den Anhängseln des Zecharia anzunehmen" (p. 120), he seems to overlook the rule on p. 117, "Innerhalb des Zwölfprophetenbuches jedoch ist dies verboten." Apparently a strip contained three columns, *Tosifta Baba Mezia*, 2. 21, says that in a found book one may only open three columns at a time, and when books were made, three columns on the page seemed to be usual, e.g. the earliest Syriac MS. of 411; and St. Lucian at the end of the third century left the Church of Nicomedia a bible *γυργαμμένον σελίδι τρισσάκις*. Mediaeval MSS. often have commentary on either side of the text, and our Talmuds are still so printed. What was the number of columns in a סֵפֶר? From a passage in J. Megilla, 71 c at least twenty columns seem to have been usual.

The normal height of a scroll was 6 hand-breadths, the upper and lower margin 7 finger-breadths, so that the column was 4 hand-breadths and 1 finger-breadth high = 7.5 centimetres \times $4\frac{1}{2}$ = 31.5 cm.

In Soferim, a post-Talmudic treatise of Palestinian origin, Jose b. Judah of the second century gives the minimum height of a column as 6 to 8 finger-breadths, and the breadth 2 thumb-breadths, and the space between the columns is half that, i. e. 1 thumb-breadth.

The length of a line = width of scroll, was thought by Lambert and Büchler to be 7 or 8 words of 27 to 32 letters, like the Letteris edition of the Bible.

Virgil's hexameters contain 32-42 letters, and average 36 to 9. Homer's average 37.7 letters. Oldest Hebrew verses are the stichoi of מִתָּה, Job, Proverbs, Psalms. The alphabetical acrostics in Psalms ix, xxv, xxxiv, xxxvii, cxix, cxi, cxlv give 26 to 32 letters, and some elegiacs only 20 to 22 letters.

Job is a *written* book, not a book of hymns to be sung. The poems in the first book of Maccabees and Ben Sira were written in stichoi—and the stichoi form of the newly discovered Hebrew text is evidence of its genuineness. The average verse line of Job is 26, exactly the amount required by the Baraitha to Menachoth. Poetical passages had to be written אִרְיָה עַל לִבָּנָה, brickwise,—so as to distinguish them from prose? for even prose had not lines of the same length until אִדְלָתָם became dilatible.

MS. Or. 4445 B.M. of the ninth century has 3 cols. of 21 ll. of 10 letters.
MS. Petersburg Prophets of 916 „ 2 „ 21 „ 15 „

Of the eighteen facsimiles of Ginsburg's Hebrew Bible (London, 1898), most have 3 columns, only one of the seventeenth century has 1 column, the line has only once more than 40 and generally less than 30 letters. Evidently the codex or book imitated the scroll.

How many lines had the column? Büchler, from Soferim and Massora, infers 42 as normal, but 60, 72, and 98 occur. The Pentateuch has 304,000 letters, i. e. 10,133 lines of 30 letters, i. e. 241 columns of 42 letters, i. e. 25 yards, which is far too much; therefore the column must have contained 72 lines of 30 to 32 cm. high and less than 4 finger-breadths wide, so the writing must have been very tiny.

2. LINEATION AND LINES.—J. Meg., 71 d 9 הלכה למשה מסיני שיהיו כותבין כעורות וכותבין בדיי “It is a Halacha from Moses on Sinai to write on leather with ink ומסרנלין בקנה and to rule (regula = סרנל) with a reed.” No “book” is without lineation, not even Adam's. The books of Herculanum were also ruled, and so the Codex Alexandrinus (fifth century). In gold-writing the lines consisted of silver points or dots. Hai Gaon (1000) says Bible quotations are punctuated. He found this in writings of the Seboraim in 500, and this was usual in the Orient till the sixteenth century. In Schechter's texts, J. Q. R., XIV, 456-474, such quotations are punctuated. The

same punctuation occurs in E. N. Adler's "An Eleventh-Century Introduction to the Hebrew Bible" (*J. Q. R.*, IX, 687) and has been remarked upon by Professor David Kaufmann (*ib.*, X, 162). Interlineations were always above and not below the line. כדרלעמך and בתהיענה may each be written as two words and the latter on two lines. R. Eleazar b. Jose (c. 200) saw the priest's mitre and curtain in Rome, and denied that קרש ל was written on one line and the Tetragrammaton above it (*Sab.* 636).

3. CHARACTER AND WRITING.—Archaic nations regarded writing as a miracle. Judges viii. 14 shows how common it was in Bible times. Jeremiah xxxvi. 18 first mentions ink (*Isa.* xxxviii. 9 for מרתב read מרתם). All ancient codices were written over, inked again "aufgefrischt." Gold-writing, χρυσογράφει, is mentioned in Aristens as having been used in the copies of the Law sent by the High Priest to Ptolemy. Swete denies this, and Abrahams, with Löw, suggests that only the name of God may have been written in gold¹. Canticles v. 14, as interpreted in *Schir Rabba*, I, 11 (226 Wilna) אורי זהב נעשה לה זה הכתב, hypothecates gold-writing of texts with silver dots or lines זה חסריל הכסף. עם נקורות הכסף זה חסריל הכסף. That gold-writing was forbidden seems due to historical rather than religious reasons, the Pharisees objected to the sumptuary extravagances of the aristocratic Sadducees, and Jerome also objects to gold, Sabbath, 103 ב שכתב או שלא בדיו או שכתב את האזכרות בזהב הרי אלו יגנוו בתורתן של אלכסנדרים. Illiterates had to sign their names as witnesses to a "Get" and so they wrote over their names in red ink or their names were written and cut out of fresh paper and they filled the interstices with black ink. Omissions were "hung" (תולין) over the line—even whole verses could be thus omitted and afterwards replaced, perhaps in the wrong place. The four "hung" letters of the Massora are the earliest traces of this. Only one side of the skin was written on. "Opisthography," i. e. writing on both sides, is only once alluded to in Scripture (*Ezek.* ii. 10).

דקה כתיבה רקה is a characteristic of the לבלר = *libellarius* or סופר or scribe—and a proof of the minuscular writing of antiquity. Writing-materials were as follows: for the schoolboy a *style* consisting of a כותב on one side and מחק (eraser) on the other; for the scribe קפת הסופר = *καλαμίσκος*. The inkstand was קלמס or קנה קלמס. The inkstand was קלמס once בית דיו קלמס.

¹ Dr. Gaster, in his sumptuous *Hebrew Illuminated Bibles* (London, Harrison, 1901), also discusses the question.

III.

PRESERVATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF OLD HEBREW BOOKS.

1. **MANTLES AND DEPOSITORIES.**—The scroll was generally wrapped in silk. It might not be touched with the naked hand. In a bedroom it had to be kept under cover, or behind a curtain, or in the window. The curtain of an ark might be used to cover a ס"ת. The mantle was called סמפוח (which is also the Biblical word for a lady's cloak). It was of silk, wool, linen, leather, or paper. הַיֵּק הַסַּפְרִים (Tos. Jadajim, II, 11) seems to have been a leather case, in which scroll with mantle was placed.

In the second Temple there was no ark. The ארון or תיבה, in which the scroll was kept, is inferred to have been about a man's size, from a Talmudic quotation (Berachot, 47 b ?) חֲשֵׁנָה וָאָרוֹן מִצִּמְרִימִים. וארון נברא הוא. But the inference seems far-fetched. There were three kinds of ark, מַנְדִּיל, תיבה, שִׁדְיָה, made of brass, bone, leather, glass or wool, and on a stand. The case with rollers occurs on Christian monuments (Schultze, *Rolle und Codex*). On cemeterial frescoes of the third century Jesus sits with a case containing scrolls at his feet, or with a scroll in his left hand, and on Jewish gilt glass (Goldgläsern) of the third century we frequently find pictures of the "armarium judaicum" or αὐτοστός, the ark or receptacle for generally six recumbent scrolls. Pictures of these have lately appeared in the Jewish Encyclopaedia (*sub voce* Ark), and Jacobs [*J. Q. R.*, XIV, 737], has pointed out that this was the usual form of a Roman bookcase.

2. **SCRIBES AND CORRECTORS.**—The first biblical scribe was Jeremiah's Baruch, but Ezra was the first copyist who supplied many copies. In Talmud times there was no longer a priestly caste of scribes—though the earliest were priests. Pesachim, 57 a לִי מִבֵּית קָדְרוֹם אֵי לִי אֶלֶף, cf. Luke i. 62, shows discouragement of an attempt on the priest's part to keep caligraphy a family secret. But סופרים were a profession like notaries; R. Meir was the greatest. Huna wrote 70 ס"ת, R. Ammi 400. The סופר was also a לבלר but the לבלר was not necessarily an official. To write and lend books was meritorious. The corrector had to read aloud, and the scribe had to read the original also—hence many of the textual errors through similarity of sound. The לבלר like the libellio, was despised.

In order to preserve the original text the correctors were paid by the Temple treasury and had to correct all copies by the Model Codex. The king's copy was corrected by the highest three tribunals. Nobody might keep an uncorrected book in his house

more than thirty days. If a verse of four lines was omitted, the page or skin was spoilt and had to be replaced by another.

3. BOOKSELLING AND PRICES OF BOOKS.—Prophets, and even Sirach (xxxix. 9; xxxviii. 33), were orators not writers. The oral law was forbidden to be written. But in the letter of the Palestine to the Egyptian Jews (2 Macc. ii. 15) of the books which Judas Maccabeus collected they say, "if you want any books send for them and have copies made."

The first bookseller must have been the copyist. The scribe in Talmud times made books to order. A heathen, in J. A. z., 41 a 14, is said to have had books in stock for sale. A wise man might buy them of him, but not a layman. Heirloom מ"ד should not be sold. Apocrypha and Agada could not have been frequent or the Hebrew originals would not have been lost. (For the literature as to book-selling in Greece and Rome, vide Wattenbach, 535, and Dziatko in *Pauly Wissouk*, III, 939, and Birt, 103, 357, 433, 504. Rome was the chief emporium of MSS., as Italy still is of Hebrew MSS.) Old books went to the Geniza, not to the second-hand bookseller. The grave is not likely to give up its literary Hebrew treasures like a papyrus buried in a necropolis. Why not?

As to prices, a מ"ד bought for 80 was sold for 120 zuz in the year 330. An ordinary מ"ד cost about 70s. מ"ד in 250 fetched 5 mana = 300s. Esther in 337 1 zuz.

Babylonian parchment was dear. For Jewish dealers in parchment in Spain vide Jacobs, *J. Q. R.*, VI, 600. For a tax on parchment of Jews, vide Steinschneider, *Kunde der hebr. HSS.* 17. A small house cost 6s., a labourer in a vineyard was paid 1 denar = 6 of a shilling. A מ"ד was thought worth about 3 or 4 hectares of a field, and Esther cost a day's wages of a vineyard labourer, vide Herzfeld, *Handels-geschichte der Juden des Alterthums*.

A LETTER OF
MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL

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A LETTER OF MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL.

THE letter which is here published for the first time is a holograph document written by the famous Menasseh Ben Israel from Amsterdam in 1648. It occupies two large folio pages, written in a tiny but very legible hand, and runs into a third page, a facsimile of which is here given. It was found in Spain, and bought by me in Lisbon. Unfortunately it is difficult to decide to whom it was addressed. Menasseh boasted of his acquaintance with many of the non-Jewish savants of his time. The fact of its having been in Spain and written in Spanish might suggest its being addressed to a learned Spaniard who had written on Bible chronology and whom the writer regarded as an authority on the subject. The greater part of the letter, dealing with chronology, though ingenious, is of less importance than the conclusion of the letter, which gives very interesting autobiographical details. It does not settle the doubts which exist as to his birthplace for it suggests that Menasseh Ben Israel was born in Lisbon¹. In all probability also it implies that he had carried out his intention of visiting America, although his statement that he had "lost his estate in the varying fortunes of America" is capable of the interpretation that he had invested money in some trading expedition to Brazil, which had not turned out satisfactory. But the facilities for making such American investments were not so great 250 years ago as they are, unfortunately, to-day. The account of the Rabbi's division of his day is distinctly interesting, and suggests a parallel with the famous letter of Maimonides, written when the latter was Caliph's physician at Cairo.

¹ He was really born and baptized at La Rochelle in France.

The Encyclopaedic works which he said he was writing do not appear to have ever been published. Perhaps they will turn up hereafter as the spoil of some hunter after modern MSS. His Bibliography especially would have been of value. It is referred to in Hottinger's *Bibl. Orient.*

The other facsimile is that of the title-page to an exceedingly rare pamphlet by Menasseh Ben Israel, the use of which I owe to the courtesy of my friend Mr. Israel Solomons, of 118 Sutherland Avenue. It is a small quarto of eight pages, probably printed by Menasseh himself. It contains a congratulatory address in Portuguese, addressed by him, in the name of his "nation," to the Prince of Orange on his visit to their Talmud Torah Synagogue, on May 22, 1642, in company with Queen Henrietta Maria of England, "worthy Consort of the Most August Charles, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland." This seems to be the oration referred to by Lucien Wolf on page xxiii of his introduction to "Menasseh Ben Israel's mission to Oliver Cromwell." If this is the case the pamphlet, as appears from the facsimile, is not accurately described. Or was there a separate pamphlet "extolling the Queen of Charles the First"?

The address of congratulation is dedicated to the six Parnassim of the Congregation:—

- "O Senhor Doctor Abraham Ferrar.
- O Senhor Aharon A-Coen.
- O Senhor Yeosuah Yesurun Rodrigues.
- O Senhor Moseh de Mesquita.
- O Senhor Jahacob Coen Enriques.
- O Senhor Abraham Franco."

The contemporary hand has added to the second and last name respectively the names "De Zouveiro" and "Mendes." Menasseh is fond of dedications, and sometimes contrives to introduce two into a single pamphlet.

In the body of the Address precedence is given to the Queen, probably because she was a lady. Historically, it is not without interest, because it brings Menasseh Ben

G R A T U L A Ç A O
DE

MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL,

Em nome de sua Nação,

Ao CELSÍSSIMO

PRINCIPE DE ORANGE

FREDERIQUE HENRIQUE,

Na sua vinda a nossa Synagoga

de T. T.

Em companhia da

SERENÍSSIMA RAYNHA

HENRICA MARIA

DIGNÍSSIMA CONSORTE

DO AUGUSTÍSSIMO

C A R L O S

Rey da grande Britannia,

França, e Hibernia.

Recitada em A M S T E R D A M A, aos

X X I I. de Mayo de 5 4 0 2.

1642.

Israel into connexion with the Royal House supplanted by his patron Oliver Cromwell. The Prince of Orange is praised for his capture of the impregnable citadels of "Belduque¹, Grol, Wesel, Mastrick², Breda, and other cities, as of the greater part of Brazil, and so many more conquests in burning Africa."

Of himself and the other Jews he says that they recognize no longer Portugal or Spain, but Holland, as their native land. Perhaps Mr. Solomons will publish the little tract on some future occasion. Though hurriedly written, it quite deserves to be preserved.

To return to the Letter. Three of his promised works are referred to eight years later as still unpublished, but "ready for the press," in the seventh section of the *Vindiciae Iudaeorum* published by Mr. Lucien Wolf. They are there described as:

- (1) Bibliotheca Rabbinica.
- (2) Historia sive continuatio Flavii Iosephi ad haec usque tempora.
- (3) De Divinitate legis Mosaicae.

A recent visit to Amsterdam has enabled me to investigate the question as to the identity of the person to whom the letter was addressed, and, on the whole, I incline to the belief that Menasseh's learned correspondent was Gerard Voss, who was one of the most distinguished humanists of his time. At the date of the letter he was professor in Amsterdam and Canon of Canterbury Cathedral. He died on April 17, 1649, and a work of his on bible chronology was posthumously published. This was the *Chronologiae Sacrae Isagoge sive de ultimis mundi antiquitatibus*, Hague, 1659. This little work does not, so far as I could tell by a hasty examination of the copy in the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, refer to Menasseh Ben Israel by name, but it deals with points touched on in the letter, e.g. the two periods of 430 years in paragraphs iv and vii. Moreover Gerard's son, Dionysius (not John Gerard, as Lindo says), translated Menasseh's *Conciliador* into Latin in 1633, when

¹ i. e. Bois-le-Duc = 's Hertogenbosch.

² Maastricht.

a young man of twenty-one. It is less likely that the correspondent was John Pineda, of Seville, who entered the Society of Jesus in 1572, and was therefore probably dead in 1648, though he lived to eighty, and wrote on Job and Ecclesiastes. It might have been Terence Alciato, a Jesuit professor at Rome, who died in 1671, but it was certainly not Hugo Grotius, who died in 1645.

There are at least four letters of Menasseh in Amsterdam. Of two of these, Dutch translations have been published by my friend Mr. J. W. Hillesum, the amiable librarian of the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, in his article on Menasseh Ben Israel in the *Amsterdamsch Jaarboekje voor 1899* (L. J. Veen, Amsterdam). I hope he will publish all four in England and English. The two letters are both in Spanish, and addressed to Isaac Vossius in Stockholm. They are dated January 10, 1651, and March 10 of the same year, and contain an offer of his services to Queen Christina. He suggests that his *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* might serve as a catalogue to her Hebrew collection, and would cost six or seven thousand florins. He adds that he cannot publish all he wants as he has lost his fortune in Brazil and Poland!

Altogether a closer study of Menasseh would seem to be detrimental to our admiration of his merits. He strikes one as snobbish and mercenary, and the jealous care with which the Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam refuse inspection of their archives may be due to a pious desire to protect the memory of their ancestors. Perhaps M. Cardozo de Bethencourt may succeed in throwing some light on the period. He is a *persona grata* with the Portuguese, and has, I understand, found proof that the restoration of the Jews to England was due not to Menasseh, but to the Parnassim, who sent him to England, and had been in correspondence on the subject with the Dutch Minister years before Resettlement Day.

TEXT OF A HOLOGRAPH LETTER OF
MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL

Amsterdam ultimo de Jan^{ro} 1648.

Mag^{co} y muy docto S^r.

En dos lugares de la S.S. en materia chronologica, hallo solam^{te} entre los nuestros | duda, y son sobre la duracion dal cap^o de Egypto, y del sagrado Templo : por q' con- | tando los años de los Reyes de Israel desde el principio de Jeroboam hasta el | cap^o de Ossea, se hallan 241, y al mismo paralelo contando los de los Reyes | de Jehuda hasta el sexto de Hizquiah enel qual sucedio la dicha captividad | se hallan 261 : en todo lo demas, siguen todos los Hebreos una misma opi- | nion en la computacion de los años, sin q' entre ellos aya alguna controver- | sia. Por lo qual no seria de parecer q' en esto se alterasse la opinion commuⁿ. | Con este presupuesto, respondiendo por orden a sus obgecciones de vmd, digo q' no siem- | pre se an de considerar los años q' la s.s. señala de una misma suerte, mas | es fuerça p^a la conciliacion de algunos lugares q' una vez se ayan de entender | cumplidos, otra empeçados, como se podra ver en la seg^{da} parte de mi conciliador | s^o los Rey. q. 32, e. q. 37 et in allijs locis, de otra manera no avria alguno q' pudiesse | dar salida a muchas dificultades y ansi unas vezes dezimos, se usurpa el nu- | mero rotundo (p^{ra} p^{te} q'87), otras q' un dia entrado enel año se cuenta por un año, | y aun otras, q' q^{do} dize tal año, se ha de entender passado aquel año. Y no se pueden | entender los años assi mismo ajustados sin mas ni menos dias como ya algun dia | platique una nueva secta de Theologos (de quo vide in pref. de Term. vitae). Por | lo qual no seria de parecer q' se alterasse la computacion de los años hasta el | diluvio q' fue a los 1656 de la criacion del mundo, en cuyo año hizo Noah | los 600 de suo vida ; y Metuselah, murio : y assi dicen los Antigos sabios, q' aver es- | perado el dio bendito aquellos 7 dias (gen. vii. 4) fue p^a q' antes del diluvio se acabassen | de celebrar los 7 dias funerales del dicho Metuselah.

II. Es assi mismo contra el sagrado Texto, dezir q' la concepcion de Abraham fue | a los 135 años de Terah su padre, pues claram^{te} dize (gen. xi. 26) *Y fue Terah | de 70 años y engendró a Abram* : segun esto enel año 70 de Abram que fue | el de 3018 le revelo Dios la captividad de sus hijos por espacio de 400 años, que | con 30 mas desde este tiempo hasta q' tuvo a Ishac, siendo yá de 100 años (gen. xxi. 5), | se integra el numero de los 430 del Exodo cap. xii. Y porq' la s.s. dize enel gen. xii. 4 | q' *Abra era de 75 años quando salio de Haran*, sueltan Tosaphot y el Seder olam esta | dificultad, diziendo q' dos vezes salio de

Haran porq' despues q' Dios le reveló esta prophesia | bolvio a Haran, y alli estuvo cinco años, y se volvio a salir. |

III. Deste tiempo se an de contar los 430 años del capº de Egito : y no obsta d[egir]se | enel Exodo *la estancia de los hijos de Israel*, porq' segun observaron los Antigos | los Patriarchas gozaron todos deste illustre nombre, y anai lo affirman en Beresit | Raba Parasa. 63. Pruevan q' Ishac se llamo Israel del gen. lvi. donde s' dize | y *estos nombres de hijos de Israel los vinientes a Egipto, Jahacob y sus hijos etc.* luego Jahacob queda tambien incluido enel nombre de hijo de Israel q' fue [. . .]dre Ishac, y por la misma consequencia, se puede tambien atribuir a Abram y [. . .] puedo dezir en esta materia. Y no tienen contra esto valor las obgeciones q' [. . .] pone; porq' יצחק o Hiyob no es יובב Yobab, ni ay author q' tal affirme, mas solamente el docto Aben Ezra dize, q' un Jshaqui lo dixo, llamandole por esso author vano y | ridiculo. El otro texto del cap vii del Parolipomenon, se ha de explicar conforme | R. Selomoh, a saber q' desde el verso 25 *Y Refah su hijo* empieza a contar de Efraim | la nueva descendencia q' tuvo de su nueva muger Berihá: y segun esto desde | este Refah hasta Jeosuah, no uvo mas que ocho generaciones. |

IV. No puede seguirse la opinion de los 430 suponiendose .q' Keat no entró en Egito : porq' es contra el s. Texto, donde en el gen. xvi. 2. numerandose las almas q' entraron cō Jahacob en Egito se cuentan, *los hijos de Leui Guerson Keat y Merari.*

V. No áy alguna certitud sobre quien fuesse Job, ni en q' tiempo floreciesse : mas de los antigos unos affirman, aver vivido en tiempo de Jahacob, y son los q' tienen el matrimonio de Dina; otros en tiempo de Moseh, otros enel de los Juezes, otros en el de Asueros, otros en el de la reyna Saba, y aun otros q' fue de los q' subieron a Jerusalem del captº de Babilonia: con q' de esta Historia, se no puede concluir argum^{to} alguno. —

VI. Sara muger de Abrá, no fue hija de Terah, mas su nieta hija de Aran, y pudo en cierta manera dezir Abrahá q' era su hermana; pq' consta de la s.s. que a los nietos se dá nombre de hijos, luego siendo nieta de Terah, es como si fuese su hija, y desta suerte hermana de Abram; y anai quieren los Antigos q' aquella סרה Yeca de q' alli se trata, sea Sara, porq' aquella diction significa princeza, o Señora, y es lo mismo q' Sará, —

VII. Los 480 años de la salida de Egito hasta el quarto de Selomoh se cuentan diver- | samente, como se podra notar en la seg^{da} parte de mi Conciliador q. i. sobre el Lº de los Juezes. |

VIII. Los 70 años de la captividad de Babilonia se an de contar del capº de Zidkiahu | en cuyo tiempo se destruyó el sagrado Templo q' fue enel año de 3338 de la cri- | acion del mundo en el onzeno del rey

Zidkiahu, y se acabaron en el de 3408 en el | segundo de Dario. Y por q' Ciro a los 3390 años dio licencia a q' se edificasse el Tem- | plo, y en esto se cumplieron los 70 empeçados del capº de Jeoyakim y Daniel | q' fue a los 3319, viendo el dicho Daniel q' segun su cuenta los 70 años eran ya cumpli- | dos, y q' con todo cessaua la fabrica del Templo, y el pueblo no era redemido, se ad- | miro grandam^{te} diciendo *yo Daniel considere los libros, el numero de los años etc.* | y entonces le fue respondido lo delas 70 semanas, y declarado q' aquellos 70 años | se entendian del capº de Zidkiahu, y no del de Jeoyakim ut supra. |

IX. Tocante a la tabla de los reyes de Jehuda y Israel, me parece muy bien dispu- | esta: yo en aquella 2ª p^{te} de mi Conciliador, hize dos, figuiendo en ellas des- | pues de aver conciliado las dificultades, el literal del Texto, con los pontifices | y y prophetas q' florecieron en aquellos tiempos: a ellas me remitto. — |

Con esto Mag^{co} Sr. he suelto las dudas q' vm. propone co' mas brevedad y menos exacta- | m^{te} de lo q' yó quisiera; pero assi lo ha permitido el cielo q' yó no sea mio, ni pue- | da responder cõ mas dilatacion a lo docto. Porq' supuesto q' yó estoy mediocrem^{te} | informado en las L^{as} Hebreas, Caldeas, Arabigas, y Latinas, perdido la hacienda entre | las varias fortunas de l'America, de libre y solam^{te} predicador, me fugeté a la escuela | donde leo el Talmud q' es nuestra Theologia, cõ q' me perdi a mi, por avansar a otros, cap- | tivandome de suerte q' teniendo concebido las mejores obras no uvo mas dia en q' hizi- | esse linea: con q' perdi el gusto. Y p^r q' úmd vea q' no es exageracion pondere lo signi- | ente, dos horas se ocupan en el Templo cada dia, seys en la escuela, una y media | en la Academia publica, y particular de los senhores Pereyras, en las quales hago offi- | cio de Presidente, dos en las correcciones de mi Typographia, q' todo passa por mi ma- | no: de las 11 a las 12, doý audiencia a todos los q' fa me aguardan p' sus negocios y visitas. | todo esto es preciso. Juzgue vmd. el tiempo q' sobra p^r los cuydados domesticos, y responder | a 4 e a 6 epistolas q' se ofrecen por semana, de los quales ni aun hago copia por me | faltar el tiempo. Pero si el Altissimo Sr disponiere mis cosas de fuerte, q' yo pueda | escuzar los 500 Cruzados q' yó tengo de renda, o a lo menos consiga librarme de | la molesta ocupacion de la escuela, q' procuro, entonces podre con mas liberalidad | y satisfacion servir a los amigos, y particularm^{te} a úmd, cuyo ingenio reverencio despues | q' lehi aquellos tan ingeniosos e prudentes discursos, anhelando essa obra Chronolo- | gica, tan digna de su admiravel talento. Las q' yó he sacado de seys años a esta | p^{te} a luz, son la seg^{da} p^{te} de mi Conciliador, el libro de la fragilidad humana, la | oracion gratulatoria que hize a su Alteza, y el *Thesoro de los dinim de nuestros | ritos y ceremonias, este en mi*

lengua materna lusitana, porq' yo soy por patria Lixbonen- | se. Las q' tengo entre manos son, Nuestra historia desde el tiempo en q' acabó flavio | Josepho hasta nuestros tiempos. Notas sobre todas las obras del mismo flavio | Josepho . de la divinidad de la ley de Mose contra epicureos: y una bibliothe- | ca de todos los Lo^s Hebreos, materias, y juicio. Obras en q' no tengo poco trabaja- | do, sin fruto, pues q' no tengo Mecenas, ni tampoco quien se quiera persuadir que | para aquel officio del Talmud se podrian hallar muchos, y para estotro de mas | honra y utilidad a los nuestros, raros. Con esto me despide, hora vale amantissimo S. |

EL HAHAM MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL. |

TRANSLATION.

Amsterdam, last of January, 1648.

Illustrious Master and most learned Sir,

In two passages of Scripture only have we doubt as to Chronology, and these are as to the duration of the Captivity in Egypt and of the Holy Temple, for, counting the years of the Kings of Israel from the beginning of Jeroboam until the capture of Ossea, there are 241, and parallel therewith, counting those of the Kings of Judah until the 6th of Hizquiah, in which the said captivity occurred, there are 261. For all the rest all the Hebrews have the same opinion in the computation of the years, without there being any controversy among them. Wherefore it would not be likely that common opinion would change in this. This being taken for granted (assuming this), answering your objections in order, I say that the years of Scripture have not always to be regarded as subject to the same fate, but perforce in order to reconcile some passages we have at one time to take them as complete, at another as fractions, as may be seen in the second part of my Conciliador, e. g. Kings q. 32 and iq. 37 and elsewhere. Otherwise there would be no possible means of solving many difficulties. And thus we sometimes say that the round number prevails (First Part, iq. 87), and at others that a single day begun of the year counts as a year, and again at others, if such and such a year is mentioned, it means that the year has passed. And the years cannot be understood as being adjusted to the same, with neither more nor less days, as a new sect of Theologians have for some time (of whom vide in the preface to the Term. Vitae). And accordingly it would not seem that the computation of years has altered ever since the flood, which was

Se. Las q' tengo enre mano, son, Nuestra historia desde el tiempo en q' auri fluió
propio hasta nuestros tiempos. Notas sobre todas las obras del onismo fluió
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de todo los Los Hebreos, materias, y juicio. Obras en q' no tengo poro trabajo
do, sin fudo, pues q' no tengo de mas, ni tampoco quien se guiera persuadir q' me
para aquel oficio del Talmud se podian hallar muchos, y para otros de mas
honra y utilidad a los nuestros, raros. Con esto me despido q' hora vale amonesta.

El Ha kam Menaskeh ben Israel

in the year of the world 1656, in which year Noah was 600 years old and Metusaleh died. And thus said the ancient sages, that if God waited for those seven days (Gen. vii. 4) it meant that he waited before the flood till the finish of the celebration of the seven days of the funeral of the said Metuselah.

II. It is in the same way contrary to the sacred text to say that the conception of Abraham was in the 135th "year" of Terah his father, since it is clearly stated (Gen. xi. 26): "And Terah was seventy years old when he begat Abram." In accordance with this it was the seventieth year of Abram, which was 3018, that God revealed to him the captivity of his descendants for a space of 400 years, which, with thirty years more from this time until Isaac's, he being 500 years (Gen. xxi. 5), makes up the number 430 of Exodus xii. And since Scripture says, in Gen. xxi. 4, that "Abram was 75 years old when he went forth from Haran," Tosafoth and the Seder Olam solve this difficulty by saying that twice went he forth from Haran because after God had revealed to him this prophecy he returned to Haran and stayed there five years and then went forth again.

III. From this time you have to count the 430 years of the captivity of Egypt, and no doubt arises from what is said in Exodus, "the stay of the children of Israel," for, as the ancients observed, the Patriarchs all used this illustrious name, and thus they say in Beresit Raba Parasa, 63, proving that Isaac called himself Israel from Gen. lxi. 8, where it says: "These are the names of the children of Israel that came forth into Egypt, Jacob and his sons;" that is, therefore, that Jacob was likewise included in the name of Son of Israel, which was that of his father Isaac, and by the same argument it could also be attributed to Abram and . . . can be said herein. And the objections which . . . makes have no validity against this, for אִיּוֹב or Hiyob is not יוֹבָב Yobab, nor does any author affirm this, but only the learned Aben Ezra says that one Ishaqui said it (and calls him for this an empty and ridiculous author). The other text of cap. vii of Chronicles can be explained according to R. Selomoh, i. e. that from ver. 25, "And Refah his son," one begins to count from Ephraim the new dependency which he got from his wife Beriha, and according to this from that Refah up to Jeosuah there were only eight generations.

IV. The opinion that the 430 years begins from the entry into Egypt cannot be maintained; for it is contrary to the sacred text, where in Gen. xli. 2, counting the souls which entered with Jacob into Egypt, are counted "the sons of Levi, Guerson, Keat, and Merari."

V. There is no certainty as to who was Job or when he flourished, but of the ancients some maintain that he lived in the time of Jahacob, and there are that hold him the husband of Dina; others in the time

of Moseh, others in that of the Judges, others in that of Asueros, others in that of Queen Saba, and again others that he was of those who came up to Jerusalem from the captivity of Babilonia: and so from his story no argument can be concluded.

VI. Sara, the wife of Abram, was not the daughter of Terah, but was his niece, the daughter of Aran, and Abraham could in a certain way say that she was his sister, for it follows from sacred scripture that nephews are called sons, and so being Terah's niece, it is as though she had been his daughter, and so Abram's sister. And so the Ancients agree that the יסד' Ysca, who is here mentioned, is Sara, for that word means princess or lady, and is the same as Sara.

VII. The 430 years of the Exodus from Egypt till the fourth of Selomoh are differently reckoned, as can be noted in the second part of my Conciliador, q. 1, on the Book of Judges.

VIII. The seventy years of the Captivity of Babilonia is counted from the capture of Zidkiah, in whose time the sacred Temple was destroyed, which was in the year 3338 of the creation of the world, in the eleventh of the King Zidkiah, and ended in the year 3408 in the second of Darius. And since Cyrus (Ciro) in 3390 gave permission to build the Temple, and therein are completed the seventy from the captivity of Jeoyakim, and Daniel, who was in 3319, when the said Daniel saw that according to his reckoning the seventy were already completed, and that the fabric of the Temple was altogether complete, and the people was not redeemed, he was greatly surprised, saying, "I Daniel have considered the books, the number of the years, &c.," and he was then answered as to the seventy weeks, and it was declared that these seventy years were to be understood from the captivity of Zidkiah, and not of Jeoyakim as above.

IX. Touching the Table of the Kings of Jehuda and Israel, it seems to me very well ordered. I, in this second part of the Conciliador, made two, following in them, after having reconciled the difficulties, the literal Text with the priests and prophets who flourished in those times: and I refer to them.

With this, Sir and Master, I have resolved the doubts you propound, with the greatest brevity and with less exactitude than what I should have wished: for Heaven has so disposed it that I am not my own, nor able to reply at greater length to the learned. For granted that I am moderately informed in the Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, and Latin languages, I have lost my estate in the varying fortunes of America ("perdido la hacienda entre las varias fortunas de l'America"); from being independent and only preacher, I must submit to teach at the school where I read the Talmud, which is our Theology, whereby I

am lost to myself, in order to advance others, being so much a prisoner that after having conceived the finest works, there was not a single day more in which I wrote a line, and have lost the taste. And that you may see that it is no exaggeration, think of the following. Two hours are spent in the Temple¹ every day, six in the School, one and a half in the public Academy², and the private one³ of the Senhores Peréyra⁴, in which I have the office of President, two in the corrections of my printing-press, which all passes through my hands. From eleven to twelve I give audiences to all who require me for their affairs and visits. All this is precise, judge then how much time remains for domestic cares and to reply to the four or six letters which come every week, of which I keep no copy, for the time fails me. Still, if the Most High will order my affairs in such wise that I may be able to dispense with the 500 cruzados which is my income, or at least attain to free me from the troublesome occupation of the school which I look after, I shall thereafter be able to serve my friends, with more liberality and satisfaction, and particularly you, whose genius I reverence, ever since I read those so clever and learned discourses, eagerly admiring that chronological work so worthy of your admirable talent. Those (works) which I have produced in the last six years are the Second Part of my Conciliador, the book of *Fragilidad Humana*, the congratulatory address I held for his Highness, and the *Thesoro delos Dinim* of our rites and ceremonies, the last in my Portuguese mother tongue, for I am a Lisbonian by patrimony. Those I have now in hand are *Our History* from the time where Flavius Josephus left off till our own times; *Notes* on all the works of the same Flavius Josephus; *Of the Divinity of the Law of Moses* against the Epicureans; and a *Bibliotheca* (Bibliography) of all the Hebrew Books, their contents⁵, and my criticism thereof: works in which I have no little fruitless labour, for I have no *Mecenas* nor either any one who could be persuaded that many could be found for this office of the Talmud, and few for the other which is of more honour and utility to the people. With this I close for the present: Farewell, most beloved Sir,

EL HAHAM MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL,

¹ Synagogue.

² Beth Hamedrash.

³ Yesiba.

⁴ One of these was perhaps Abraam Isac Perera referred to in my Spanish list of the Jews of Amsterdam in 1655, *vide* the *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, vol. IV, p. 227.

⁵ Cp. Hillesum, p. 51.

**JEWISH LITERATURE AND THE
DIASPORA**

JEWISH LITERATURE AND THE DIASPORA.

*INAUGURAL ADDRESS READ BEFORE THE MANCHESTER
JEWISH SOCIAL AND LITERARY UNION ON THE
22nd OF NOVEMBER, 1903.*

DEEPLY sensible of the honour conferred on me by the Manchester Jewish Literary Society by their invitation to deliver their inaugural address, I am none the less painfully conscious of my own deficiency, and fear that your disappointment will only be equalled by my ambition. I want to act as your showman to a wonderful pantomime, or, to use a more dignified simile, would wish to introduce—and worthily introduce—a distinguished stranger to a convocation of scholars. The stranger is not exactly an Oriental pundit, but it is a subject which in itself represents a whole encyclopædia of learning. Jewish literature is indeed a theme worthy of the most thoughtful of scholars, the most ardent of enthusiasts. It has an unbroken historical record of more than 4,000 years, and connections with all that has gone to make history during that time. There is nothing tribal or narrow in Jewish literature. But I am not going to inflict a sermon upon you. That is a task I must leave to others more competent and more venerable. For myself, I have never preached to, or at, anybody, and must confess that I am not even a good listener.

This is an age of rapid travelling. You are all able to make a voyage round the world in eighty days or,

if the newspapers and time-tables are to be believed, in fifty. I must ask you to make a similar survey of a whole world of human thought in as many minutes. The task is not as easy as actual globe-trotting, and can hardly be performed save at the risk of appearing shallow and dogmatic and paradoxical. For such defects I must claim your pardon and sympathy. There is no time for the faultless detail of even a miniature. An impressionist sketch is the most that one can hope to achieve. But if such a sketch will serve to furnish your society with some hint of subjects to be hereafter elaborated, or themes to be hereafter discussed, then will its purpose have been abundantly achieved. It will at the same time justify the existence of your society, as well as the numerous sister societies with similar objects, both here in Manchester, and elsewhere. And it will explain how it is that a Jewish Encyclopædia has become useful and indeed necessary.

The science of Judaism is as modern as its subject is old. It is the result of the self-consciousness which is a characteristic—and not an altogether pleasing characteristic—of our time. But it has its uses, even though we may not quite agree with a German enthusiast that it will “equip Judaism in the new era for the conflict with nations mightier, and individuals stronger, than its enemies of old.” Zunz was the father of this science, but we cannot hope to emulate his scholarship. Ours must be the French method rather than German, for the indication of truth in the broad lines rather than the painful accuracy of every detail. And so it will be Reinach and Renan and Karpeles whom I will plagiarise.

And first I must ask you to disabuse your minds of one or two preconceived notions about Judaism which we have all had. Its literature is not limited to the Bible and Prayer Book, nor its history to Palestine. Palestine is not the huge country of our childhood’s imaginings. The Dispersion of Israel among the nations was long anterior to the Destruction of the Temple, and there is

no gap in our history during the so-called "dark" ages. The Bible is not a single book—and there is much which is now not in it that once was Scripture. The Old Testament was not wholly written in Hebrew, nor the New wholly in Greek. And the Greek of the New Testament is not classical, but "*κοινή*," a Jewish Greek or Hellenistic Greek. It is not a jargon any more than Judæo-Arabic, or Hebrew-Persian, or Ladino, or Jüdisch-Deutsch is a jargon. Each of these dialects (and they are only some of those that could be named) are allotropic forms of their language; each has its literature, and a literature used by a literary people.

Whatever language the Jew talks, he remains a Jew—he is the middle-man of literature, as well as science and commerce—and it is by his agency that, throughout the ages, peoples have conversed with peoples, and made the finest products of human thought the common heritage of mankind. The Jews have always been great travellers, and from earliest times one can trace successive waves eastward and westward in turn. But they remain essentially the same, whether they happen to be on this or that shore of one of the three great inland seas round which most of the Jews of the Dispersion lived.

The history of our nation is a record of transmigration. At the dawn of history we are in Mesopotamia. The struggle for life sent Abraham and his family west to Palestine, and his grandchildren further west and south to Egypt, and their grandchildren back again to Palestine 1500 B.C., with the Pentateuch as their epic. Last year's discovery by M. de Morgan of the greater part of the old Babylonian Code of Hammurabi has excited an immense sensation through the imperial interest shown in Professor Delitzsch's lectures on "Babel and Bible." The subject is far too big to be dealt with here, but I must refer in this connection to a remarkable work by Professor D. H. Müller, of Vienna, which has just appeared. "*Die Gesetze Hammurabi's und die Mosaische*

Gesetzgebung" disproves the theory that the Bible plagiarises Hammurabi, but derives both Codes and the famous Twelve Tables also from a common source. The Professor's work is distinguished by a translation into a Biblical Hebrew, the words of which are generally the same as those in the Babylonian original. It undoubtedly discloses striking similarity with the rules laid down in משפטים.

In the ninth century B.C. the Assyrians from Niniveh came west, and in 720 Sargon conquered Israel and transplanted the Ten Tribes eastward, to the Far East, to Armenia, Persia, Afghanistan, perhaps to India and China, and exchanged for them the "Cuthim" known as Samaritans. These were the first of the Diaspora, unless Flinders Petrie's interpretation of a papyrus is correct, from which he infers that Israel was in Palestine even before the Exodus. Anyhow, we do seem to have traces of them in the Armenians of to-day, in the Afghans, if their own traditions be true, and in the more loyal "orphan colony" of Kaifengfu.

A hundred years later, the Medes captured Niniveh, shortly after which Nebuchadnezzar deported the two Tribes to Babylon in *three* batches, in 606, 599 and 588. The number of actual exiles does not seem to have been very large: "10,000 were carried away, princes and artisans—none were left save the poorest sort of people."⁽¹⁾ Most went eastward to Mesopotamia, with Jeremiah and Baruch and Ezekiel, but some fled westward to Egypt. After seventy years a partial return took place, this time in *four* batches, under Cyrus and Zerubbabel in 537, under Darius and Haggai in 519 (when the second Temple was built), under Artaxerxes and Ezra in 458, and under Nehemiah in 445. Alexander the Great, in his great conquest, spared Palestine and Jerusalem, and much favoured the Jews. When he founded Alexandria in 332 another great immigration of Jews took place, and yet another, when in 305 Ptolemy captured

(¹) 2 Kings xxiv. 10-16.

Jerusalem for the eighth time, and took back with him many Jews to Egypt.

In 311 Seleucus founded the Seleucid Era, and brought Jews to Antioch and his other cities west and north, giving them, says Josephus, the same privileges as Greeks and Macedonians.

In 285 Ptolemy II. Philadelphus set free 120,000 Jewish slaves, descendants of those brought to Egypt by the Persians in 525. Jews themselves were the great enfranchisers. Cæcilius, of Calacte, the rhetorician, was so freed, and an inscription at Delphi records another enfranchisement.

In 219 Antiochus III. captured Jerusalem, but was defeated by yet another Ptolemy, who persecuted the Egyptian Jews. In 198 more Jews immigrated, and under Ptolemy VI. Onias, an unsuccessful candidate for the High Priesthood, started, in 154 B.C., an opposition temple at Heliopolis, near what is now Ismailieh.

In 175 Antiochus Epiphanes tried to precipitate the Hellenism of the Jew, and failed. This brings us to the stirring events of the Maccabæan period, for which we have full information through Josephus, the Apocrypha, the Talmud, and even some of the Roman historians.

These two centuries or so prior to Judas Maccabæus have hitherto been very dark. Probably some part of Scripture—and the Book of Daniel almost certainly—were then written; but antiquity, especially Semitic antiquity, is no friend of the precise and the dated. If doctrine is good, it is good for all time, and statistics are left to the Aryan and the Manchester School. As Renan says in one of his lectures: "Science and philosophy are exclusively Greek. The ancient Semitic spirit is in its nature anti-philosophic and anti-scientific. In Job the search for causes is presented as almost an impiety. In Ecclesiastes science is declared a vanity. The author, in premature disgust, boasts of having studied all things under the sun, and having found therein only *ennui* and weariness of flesh. Aristotle, his contemporary or

thereabouts, who might with more justice talk of exhausting the universe, never complains of *ennui*." (1)

Aristotle's favourite pupil, the man who succeeded to his library, Theophrastus, whose "Characters" show a keen psychological insight into men, is the first of the classics to describe the Jews and their religion, and he does so in terms of admiration. It is an extraordinary fact that so far but little has been preserved to show whether Aristotle himself knew the Jews and what he thought about them.(2) It has always seemed a fascinating problem to speculate about this. Why else was the greatest of his pupils, the impetuous young Macedonian, so friendly to the High Priest at Jerusalem? Anyhow, the Jews have always shown regard for Aristotle, even more than for Alexander, and it is through their Hebrew and Arabic interpretations or translations that the lost works of Aristotle were preserved during the Middle Ages.

We may feel confident that we shall soon discover much that still remains hidden with regard to this period, and you would have no lack of subjects to investigate and expound if you were to limit the scope of your Society to the time of the Second Temple. Only within the last few months those wonderful Egyptian explorers have made a discovery which, to my mind, revolutionises the view of Hebrew as a written language.(3) You all know there are two kinds of Hebrew script—the so-called Samaritan, and אשורית

(1) "De la part des peuples sémitiques dans l'histoire de la Civilisation." Paris 1875, vii. edit. p. 22.

(2) Josephus (*Contra Apionem* 1.22) preserves an interesting passage from the writings of Clearchus, another of Aristotle's pupils, which tells of a discussion between a Jew of Coelestria and Aristotle, and makes his master say that what this Jew said "merited admiration and showed philosophical erudition." Maimonides harmonised Aristotelianism with Judaism and then, says the "Jewish Encyclopædia," "it became 'an easy step' for mediævalism" to make Aristotle himself a Jew.

(3) A. Cowley. "Some Egyptian Aramaic Documents." *PROCS. OF SOC. BIBL. ARCH.* xiv.

or Assyrian. It used to be thought that Ezra introduced the latter, and that for centuries the two kinds of writing existed side by side—like Gothic and Latin letters in Germany. Professor Sayce, however, has unearthed some papyri near Elephantine, and some *ostraka*, or potsherds, which are pre-Alexandrine, of the Persian period, almost of Ezra's time, which clearly mark a transition between the two kinds of writing and prove that Massoretic Hebrew is but an evolution of the archaic Phœnician hand. They are commercial documents written in Aramaic. They come from a banker's rubbish heap, and are in the nature of a promissory note, undertaking to pay principal and interest. The borrower, Gemariyah ben Akhio, is certainly a Jew, and so are some of the witnesses. Five of the six names compounded with נ were current among the Palestine Jews in Jeremiah's time. But the subject is too big to pursue now. Cowley has already written four papers, three in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, and one in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, and Professor Euting is also writing [on the new finds.

Reinach thinks that the fecundity of the Jews was one cause of their spreading into Galilee, Syria and Egypt, and even beyond the sea, and says that, "a Jew emigrates readily, since his creed is linked to a book, not to a place." In pre-Christian times, the Diaspora was actively engaged in proselytism. In the second century, B.C., the Jewish Sibyl says of the chosen people, "Every land is full of thee and every sea," and Strabo, Philo, Seneca and the author of the Acts of the Apostles, as well as King Agrippa in his letter to Caligula, prove that the Jewish race was disseminated in their time over the whole civilised world. Every year new epigraphs are being discovered to increase the number of known Jewish communities.

Philo says that there were a million Jews in Egypt at his time—one-eighth of its population and two-fifths

of that of Alexandria. There were 8,000 Jews in Rome under Augustus. The first Jews in Rome seem to have reached there, unwelcome, in 139 B.C. Julius Cæsar, who prohibited foreign *collegia* in Rome, made an exception in favour of the Jews, and under him and his successors many of the cities of Asia Minor, such as Laodicea and Ephesus, issued decrees on behalf of the Jews. Thus, the Emperor Augustus, Herod's friend, published an edict in favour of the Jews of all his provinces—even of Britain. Throughout the Roman Empire Judaism was a recognised religion (*religio licita*) with the right of residents to erect synagogues, to practise their religious observances, to have an autonomous organisation, to levy taxes (*fiscus Judaicus*), to settle their own legal affairs, and to be exempt from military service. Their chief disability was the withdrawal from them of citizenship of the particular city of their residence, even though they were Roman citizens, and their consequent exclusion from municipal and Government office.

In the Diaspora the trades of Jews were almost anything, and the recent discovery of Syriac papyri seems to show that even the profession of money-lender, or banker, a type hitherto thought to be essentially a product of the Middle Ages, was not excepted. They were engaged in commerce and navigation, as gardeners and mechanics, as singers and comedians, as painters, jewellers and physicians, and even as poets and men of letters, without counting preachers, lawyers, and theologians. We even find a horse-dealer mentioned in one of the Grenfell papyri from the Fayoum and a match-seller referred to by Martial. But their intercourse with pagans was limited to commercial relations, for they did not dine with pagans nor visit their theatre, circus, or gymnasium, nor even read a secular book—except sometimes at twilight!

Inscriptions in the Jewish catacombs of Rome do not show much literary ability on the part of the buried or the buriers. They are mostly bad Latin in Greek characters,

with a few Hebrew names also in Greek character; but then the Jews of Rome were mostly freed men, to whom the symbol of the Menorah or Candlestick appealed more than Hebrew letters.

Under Herod, the material prosperity of Palestine was very great indeed. But, with his death, Judæa became a mere department of the province of Syria, ruled first by a procurator, then by a pro-prætor, and lastly by a pro-consul, who was also the commander of the army of occupation. Internal dissensions produced the insurrection which terminated in the destruction of the Temple in 70. The Romans planted Grecian and Roman colonies in Palestine, with the express intention of preventing the political regeneration there of the Jews; but the Jews, excluded from Palestine, strove in the first place to establish, upon the ruins of Hellenism, actual commonwealths in Cyrene, Cyprus, Egypt and Mesopotamia. There were repeated insurrections of the Jews under several Roman Emperors till Severus, of which the glorious but disastrous attempt of Bar Cochba, in 135, was the most terrible. The Emperor Julian in the fifth century tried to re-establish the independence of the Jews in Palestine.

The Jewish community in Rome owed not only its origin but its continued importance to released prisoners of war. Transported to the West, the unsuccessful Jewish rebels became the nuclei of communities in Italy, Spain, Gaul, and even Britain. Jews were cheap in those days, and even the poor poet Martial possessed a Jewish slave ("Epig.," vii. 35). One of such slaves was Josephus, the historian, who, despite a good deal of Christian falsification, remains our chief authority for the history of the external relation of the Jews for the four centuries before his time.

But there is a mass of literature infinitely more important for the student of Judaism and Christianity than Josephus. That historian knows only the twenty-two (or twenty-four) Canonical books which still constitute

the Old Testament. The Apocrypha, though much of it was already extant in his time, is ignored by Josephus—perhaps he was really ignorant of it all, except perhaps the first Book of Maccabees. He was a soldier of some classical polish, but so far as Hebrew is concerned he was quite illiterate. Such ignorance was not rare in his day, and the remarkable Greek inscription from the Temple, now in the Louvre, testifies that not only the stranger, who was thereby forbidden to pass any further into the Temple, but also the Jews themselves were better acquainted with Greek than Hebrew.

The Old Testament Apocrypha have also a Canon ; for the sanctity of such Scriptures is, after all, only relative. And if we include all works of the kind in the same category, we shall see how important its literature really is. The following is a list of Apocrypha and Apocalypses compiled from the Jewish Encyclopædia :—

HISTORICAL.

(135 B.C.)

- | | | |
|----------------|---|----------------|
| 1. Macc. I. | — | 5. Esther add. |
| 2. Macc. II. | — | 6. Manasses. |
| 3. Esdras I. | — | 7. Judith. |
| 4. Daniel add. | — | 8. Tobit. |
| | — | 9. Macc. III. |

HISTORICAL PSEUDEPIGRAPHA.

(100 B.C.)

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| 10. Jubilees, or Leptogenesis | — | 15. Yossipon. |
| 11. Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum by Philo (?) | — | 16. Chronicles of Jerahmeel (ed. Gaster). |
| 12. דברי הימים של משה | — | 17. Fragments of Eupolemus |
| 13. ס' הישר | — | and Arpanus (ed. Freudenthal). |
| 14. מדרש ויסע | — | 18. Samaritan Chronicles. |

BOOKS OF THE ANTEDILUVIANS.

- | | | |
|---------------------------|---|-------------|
| 19. Life of Adam and Eve. | — | 21. Lamech. |
| 20. Enoch. | — | 22. Noah. |

TESTAMENTS.

- | | | |
|--|---|--------------|
| 23. Abraham. | — | 26. Job. |
| 24. Isaac and Jacob. | — | 27. Moses. |
| 25. 12 Patriarchs. (Hebrew of Naphtali.) | — | 28. Solomon. |

RELATING TO JOSEPH, ISAIAH, AND BARUCH.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 29. Aseneth (Potiphar's Daughter) | 30. Ascension, Vision, of Isaiah. |
| Prayer of Joseph. | — 31. Rest of the Words of Baruch. |

LOST BOOKS.

- | | |
|---------|--|
| 32. Og. | — 33. Penitence of Jannes and Jambres. |
|---------|--|

PROPHETICAL APOCRYPHA.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 34. Baruch and Epistle of Jeremiah. | — 35. Assumption of Moses. |
| | — 36. Eldad and Medad. |

APOCALYPSES.

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 37. Daniel (165 B.C.). | — 41. Baruch. |
| 38. Enoch (120 B.C.) | — 42. Zephaniah. |
| 39. Secrets of Enoch. | — 43. Elijah. |
| 40. Esdras IV. | — 44. Sibylline Books (140 B.C.). |

LYRICAL APOCRYPHA.

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 45. Psalm cii. | — 47. 5 Syriac Psalms, Hezekiah's |
| 46. Psalms of Solomon. | — Prayer, Prayer when Cyrus |
| | — gave the people leave to |
| | — return. |

DIDACTIC APOCRYPHA.

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| 48. Wisdom of Jesus Ben Sira (180 B.C.), Translated by his grandson in 132. | — 49. Wisdom of Solomon. |
| | — 50. Macc. IV. |

Talmud rejects as apocryphal the Books of the מִתְנִיָּם (Christians, &c.) בן לענא, בן תגלה, בן דמירס, and "Be Abidan."

Much of the Apocrypha is pre-Maccabæan. Not so very long ago it was the fashion among "Neologians" to post-date everything Biblical. But Schechter's clever restitution of the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus has made it clear that at least that important work was of the beginning of the second century B.C.

The different books of the Apocrypha and the Apocalypses, exclusively Jewish, are quite fifty in number. The Apocalypse of Daniel, possibly Tobit, and many of the apocryphal Psalms and prayers, are pre-Maccabæan. To the Maccabæan period, the first book of the Maccabees, the Sibylline Books, the Apocalypse of Enoch, the Book of Jubilees certainly belong.

Most of the others are pre-Christian, even though they

now contain Christian and Christological glosses. For when the Rabbis at Jamnia closed the canon and rejected the Apocrypha, the early Christians adopted and fostered them, "a proof," says Renan, "that the Church and the Synagogue were still one." The literature of the Apocrypha is so fascinating that it would furnish the theme for many hundred lectures, but we can only mention it and pass on.

It is like one of the great rivers of Genesis, somewhat mythical in its course; but although we cannot lay down any precise line of demarcation, or even define the watershed, we can see that it branches off into two ultimately distinct directions. On the one hand, it merges into the New Testament, with a quite bulky Apocrypha and Apocalypse of its own, and then into a huge Library of the Fathers. On the other hand, it merges through the Midrash into Talmud and "Poskim."

Of the New Testament I am not competent to speak with even the shadow of authority. But I do claim for it that in its beginnings, and indeed, for quite a long time, it was essentially Jewish and is an undoubted branch of Jewish literature. Much of it is avowedly written for, and addressed to, the Diaspora. A dear teacher of mine, Edwin Abbott, who is quite one of the most original and scholarly of the English critics of the New Testament, has publicly and privately confessed that much, nay most, of New Testament philosophy and theology is inexplicable except through the Targums and the Talmuds. But I will ask you to listen to a quotation from another non-Jewish authority, one of the most eloquent of modern writers on religion. Renan, in a lecture on "The Original Identity and Gradual Separation of Judaism and Christianity,"⁽¹⁾ says:

"The first generation of Christians is essentially Jewish. Had one asked its great founders whether they thought to secede from the Jewish family, 'Oh, no,' they would

⁽¹⁾ *Le Judaïsme et le Christianisme (Identité originelle et Séparation graduelle)*. Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1883.

have replied. 'We continue the line of the inspired ones of Israel. It is we who are the true successors of the prophets.' In a word, they thought to accomplish the law, not suppress it. . . .

"With St. Paul, 54 after Christ, the breaking away is apparently striking. Nevertheless, Paul unceasingly protests that he does not abandon his faith in what has been promised. He wishes to enlarge Judaism, to make it easy for the nations who wish to enter its bosom. He has harsh words sometimes for his ancient people, but he has tender words also, and Paul never thought he had abandoned the Jewish Church. Moreover, by the Primitive Church, Paul is almost looked upon as a heretic, as a bold spirit, as a kind of marplot. Anyhow, he was an exception, and small Epistles, like those which, in the Christian canon, figure under the name of St. James or St. Jude, much better represent the spirit of the first Church. Now, such writings are altogether Jewish, they could have been read in synagogue if they had been written in Hebrew.

"It is the same with the Apocalypse, called of St. John, which is in the Christian canon. This book, dated end of 68 or beginning of 69, is a Jewish book in the highest degree. The author is a passionate adherent of the Jewish nationality. The war has begun. Jerusalem is being besieged. One sees in the writer the most profound sympathy for the rebels of Judæa. To him Jerusalem is "the beloved city." His ideal of humanity is a Jerusalem of gold, of pearls and precious stones. Nobody is more Jewish than the author of the Apocalypse.

"The so-called Synoptic Gospels are edited on the morrow of the capture of Jerusalem. Here there certainly is the parting of the ways. But the least Jewish of the synoptics, Luke, takes pains to testify that Jesus practised all the ceremonies of the law, particularly that he was circumcised.

"That curious epistle of Clement the Roman, whoever the author, well expresses the sentiments of the Roman

Church about the year 98 after Christ. The little work is of an altogether orthodox Judaism. Judith is for the first time cited as a heroine.

"If we now pass to the Epistles and Gospels attributed to John the case is quite altered. We may place the date of these compositions at about 125; say, 100 years after the death of Jesus. There Judaism is treated as an enemy. One recognises the advent of systems which, under the name of Gnosticism, will lead Christians to deny their Jewish origins. Gnosticism is altogether opposed to Judaism. According to the Gnostics, Christianity was born spontaneously and without a forerunner, or rather it was a reaction against the former law. Marcion, with still more exaggeration, pretends that the Jewish religion is a bad religion which Jesus Christ came to abolish. But Gnosticism was to the Christian Church what a collateral stream is to a river. The Orthodox Church in the second century always regarded itself as bound to the synagogue by the closest tie. Papias certainly is a Jewish Christian, wrapped up in the ideas of the Synoptic Gospels and the Apocalypse. The Testament of the twelve patriarchs, which appeared about the same time, is quite a Jewish work. The Shepherd of Hermas, again, is an edifying book in the Jewish sense—a veritable Agada.

"Again, there is that Bishop of Sardes, Meliton, who, about 160, spends his life seeking for sacred books among the Jews; for him the Jewish canon is the canon of Scripture.

"Later, in the third century, the secession becomes more accentuated under the influence of the School of Alexandria, the heiress of a mitigated Gnosticism. Clement of Alexandria and Origen are hardly friends of Judaism, and talk of it with much injustice. One feels that the separation is in process of accomplishment, but it only becomes in a manner complete when Christianity becomes a State religion under Constantine. The Christianity becomes official, while Judaism retains its liberal cha-

racter. Is the separation at last complete? Oh, no, not yet.

"I lately referred to the sermons of St. John Chrysostom against the Jews. There is no historical document more interesting. The author naturally shows himself rude, dogmatic; he makes all sorts of arguments, some of them not very strong. But one sees that the faithful are still in a community of people most intimate with the synagogue. He tells them more than twenty times (for St. John Chrysostom repeats himself a good deal, he is rather prolix), 'What have you to do at the synagogue? You wish to celebrate the Passover? Well, we also celebrate the Passover; come to us.'

"In 380, then, the Christians of Antioch used to go to synagogue on several occasions. In order to make an oath more binding, people went to the synagogue, because the sacred books were there. Here, to tell the truth, is the cause of the custom which John Chrysostom combats as one of the gravest abuses. 'I know well,' says Chrysostom, 'what you are going to tell me. You will say that the Law and the Prophets are there.' The Christians did not sufficiently practise the Hebrew Bible, and they felt that the Jews were its true guardians.

"But these are only traces of the primitive ancients, for the schism becomes more and more profound. We enter the Middle Ages, the barbarians arrive, and then began that deplorable ingratitude of humanity, now Christian, against Judaism."

So far Renan, and I am sure I could not give you a better insight into the Judaism of early Christianity. Of course, the Roman writers—historians, like Livy and Tacitus, and philosophers, like Seneca—know of no difference between Jew and Christian, and it is not always easy to fit the cap they set upon the head of the one or the other.

We cannot dwell on the question as to which of the books of the New Testament, or Sayings of Jesus lately found in Ptolemaic cemeteries in the Fayoum were originally written in Hebrew, nor may we pause to talk of Philo and

the Hellenistic philosophers. The other great branch of the stream leads into the Talmud, an ocean which, I need not tell you, is so vast, that you will not expect me to cross it. It is a colossal monument to Judaism, built up out of the concentrated essence of the Jewish brains of half-a-dozen centuries and elaborated since, continuously, for nearly 2,000 years. The Mishna itself is largely pre-Christian. It is a sort of *corpus juris*, a digest of Jewish law in 6 orders, 63 treatises, 524 chapters. The Babylonian Talmud, in nearly all its editions, except the rarest—and therefore most precious, though not the best—has the same pagination. You are all familiar with the look of a Gemara, that huge folio. Well, the Talmud Babli or, rather, what we have left of it, which is only about half of the 6 orders (3 complete and a single treatise of 2 of the orders) numbers no less than 4,994 folio pages. The sister Talmud, of Jerusalem, or rather of Tiberias, which, though completed a little earlier, is rather later in general, is extant in 39 out of 63 treatises, but only takes up about a quarter of the space. Beside these, and closely connected therewith, are the “Boraitoth” or “foreign” elements excluded from the Mishna, because not legally binding on Jews, and a huge mass of supplements to the Gemara, known as “Toseftas,” or “additions,” which embody much that was purposely omitted from the Talmud *e.g.*, the opinions of Rabbis in opposition and their “obiter dicta,” the minority reports of some of the schools, and a vast amount of stories, parables, and other folk-lore. We have Toseftas to 52 treatises and 383 chapters.

Do not be induced to smile at the dialectics of the Talmud as useless or hair-splitting. The more we see of the Talmud, the more treasure we find. It is a veritable mine, in which no digger can fail to come upon precious metal; it is a lottery, perhaps, but a lottery with no blanks. And if you are tempted to scoff, think for a moment, what Macaulay's New Zealander would say, if, some thousand years hence, he discovered, in a Geniza,

near what is now the newspaper room of the Rylands' Library, a few of the more serious of our English journals—say, the "Economist" or the "Statist" and studied their studies of the fiscal problem, with all its hair-splitting and head-splitting intricacies.

When the Talmuds were in making there was constant interchange of ideas and travel between the river cities of Mesopotamia and Tiberias. It is a pretty question how they journeyed between those places. The constantly recurring phrase, "שלחו משם" (they sent from there, i.e., Palestine), shows that the Tana'im and Amora'im were always travelling backwards and forwards.

Probably they went north along the Euphrates to Thapsacus, then west to Tadmor and Damascus—something of a *détour*, but a route which avoided crossing the great Syrian Desert at its greatest width.

As Rome weakened and Parthia grew stronger, the Babylonian and Arabian Jews became more and more prosperous, and their home the centre of gravity in Judaism. In Arabia, N.S. and centre, there were independent Jewish tribes and even kingdoms—at the time when the world's third great Reformer arose. As Karpeles says ⁽¹⁾ "The Jews had made themselves part and parcel of Arab life. The Jewish contemporaries of Mohammed wrote and composed poetry in Arabic as good as the Greek of the Alexandrian Jews 800 years earlier; or as the Aramaic of the Babylonian Jews 800 years before the Alexandrians; or as the Hebrew of the Palestinian Jews 800 years before the Babylonians. Here we meet with one of the chief factors in the success of the Jews as agents of civilisation. Wherever they went, be it to the edge of the desert, or into Teutonic lands, they founded first, not synagogues or houses of prayer, but schools; for they knew that what alone had saved them, dispersed as they were in exile lands, was the spirit that came forth out of the houses of learning. 'On the

⁽¹⁾ Karpeles "A Sketch of Jewish History" (Philadelphia, 1898), p. 46.

breath issuing from the schools rests the moral order of the universe,' says the Talmud.

"The development of the Islam proceeded with mighty strides, and its influence extended far and wide over the whole Eastern world. When the Arabs sat in their tents in the fair summer twilight, we can imagine them telling the legend of a man who was the exemplar of hospitality and bravery. His name was Samuel ben Adijah, and by race he was a Jew—so respected the Jews were shortly after they had made their first permanent settlement in Arabia. Among the poems in praise of courage and hospitality that have come down to us from before the time of Mohammed the favourite one cited by the Arabs was Samuel's *Kasside*. Even among those who spread Mohammed's doctrines there were Jewish authors and authoresses, some of whose clever epigrams and poems have been preserved to this day. They are so thoroughly permeated with the spirit of free Arabia, that if their successors had not informed us of the facts of their lives, we should never have suspected the writers to be Jews.

"All this was to change. When Mohammed perceived that the Jews were not accepting his leadership, he ceased to court their favour, and after a while he began to persecute them. He wrote the twenty-ninth Sura in the Koran, directed against the Jews, and forbade his adherents to turn towards the East in prayer."

Neither the Mohammedans nor the Christians found it difficult to dissemble their love for the Jews. Our subsequent history is written in blood—the blood of martyrs. Yet the dreary horrors of persecution did not continuously cloud our past. There are frequent gleams of light and liberality. It is Isaac the Jew who is a worthy messenger between the rival pillars of East and West, between a Charlemagne and an Haroun Alraschid. It is a Jewish physician, call him Maimonides if you will, who brings a Saladin to make friends with a Richard the Lion-hearted. It is a Jew whom Henry VIII. tempts over from Italy to England, in order to give him

points in his theological disputations with the Pope. The Authorised Version, which is the well of English undefiled, and Luther's translation, which is the origin of modern German, were both directly inspired by the nameless Jewish Rabbis who collaborated with the ostensible translators. But all this will take us too far afield. If you wish to get round the world in record time, you must allow yourself no digressions, however fascinating the scenery, however tempting the sport.

If I have succeeded in opening out vistas for future exploration, by your Society and others who have a taste for this sort of thing, I shall feel that my trial of your patience has not been wasted. And in no spirit of irreverence would I ask to be allowed to apply to Jewish literature, what the High Priest said in the Temple on the Day of Atonement, after he had read forth the portions from the Torah—"More than we have read is contained therein."

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THE
HUMOURS OF HEBREW MSS.

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THE HUMOURS OF HEBREW MSS.

*A Paper read before the Jews' College Literary Society
on February 21, 1904.*

I FEEL very much like the more or less talented author who offered to write a chapter on "Snakes in Ireland," when I have asked you to come to hear what I have to say on the "Humours of Hebrew MSS." Up till within quite recent times it was confidently believed that there were no snakes in Ireland, although I fancy that some practical joker, hailing from the other side of the Atlantic, did venture to let some snakes loose in Ireland within the last month or two, and created quite a scare in that favoured isle. It may well be that some writers or collectors or dealers in Hebrew MSS. have occasionally ventured to import humour, or what seemed to them to be humour, into the dry-as-dust domain of Hebrew MSS., and I hope you will bear with me if, for a short time, I indulge in an illogical and unmethodical causerie on that subject. The situation itself is perhaps not altogether unhumorous when you consider that it is a lawyer, whose hobby is so dry and dreary a one, who attempts to talk to this audience, which, however distinguished, must be admitted to contain at least some happy persons, especially of the fairer sex, who could not read a Hebrew MS. if they tried.

Some MSS. are illuminated or illustrated, and although there is a popular fallacy to the effect that the Jews could not paint or draw pictures, because they had a prejudice against the semblance of the human form divine, the semblance is not always so close as to be forbidden, and, whether they could draw or not, they did, and I have some photographs here of pictures of my own MSS. which will show you what I mean. Sometimes the picture

appears humorous only because it looks quaint and not intentionally quaint. Sometimes it is intended to be funny. Such is the illustration of a Hebrew Hagadah, a Hagadah printed at Prague in 1526, which was certainly copied from a MS. The father of the family at the Seder, when he has to point to the bitter herbs, points to his wife instead.

Then there are numerous MSS. which, though not comic, are grotesque. The Jews were great imitators and followed the fashions. One of my MSS. is a very beautifully written Passover Service intended for the use of the Reader in the synagogue. This is profusely illustrated with grotesque borders in the style of the German illustrated books of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It was finished at Cologne in 1525, and monkeys and elephants, and queer animals, half birds and half fishes, abound in its decorations. They are mostly pen and ink drawings, but the ink is sometimes red and sometimes black. Then, again, I have specimens here of a festival service from Corfu, which is actually funny though not intended to be so. It contains pictures quite in the style of the Eikons in the Byzantine or Russian churches. We have the whale swallowing Jonah, some Corfiote Jews in their Tabernacle, King David with a very big crown, and other such pictures, a mediaeval picture of Jerusalem such as Hubert Van Eyck might have painted from fancy, and, *pace* Sir Martin Conway, not from nature.

Hebrew MSS. again can be humorous or witty because of the matter they contain. Thus we get a whole class of parodies in which the book of Esther is imitated as to give us a Hagadah for Purim or a Talmudical treatise such as Masechet America or Masechet Purim. Many of our poets, from Ibn Ezra downwards, do not scruple to devote their talents to satirical or humorous dialogues between water and wine, between week-days and Sabbaths, and between different letters of the alphabet. Our writers are particularly fond of plays upon words. They are never tired of acrostics. Their riddles are rather witty than humorous.

The titles of their books generally contain some playful allusion to the writer's name or his subject, and down to the present day, and especially in the present day, there is hardly an author who can avoid disguising the date of his work in some more or less inappropriate sentence, the letters of which, when correctly added together generally produce the date. But this last is a practice which any one interested in bibliography would decline to think funny, because it does so add to the task of cataloguing or identifying a book.

The personal atmosphere of a MS. is always interesting and sometimes humorous. The colophon or final word of the scribe is replete with touches of human nature. The formulae are not as varied as the contents of the book, some of them recur over and over again. The book is written by so and so, for so and so, and finished at such and such a date, but the writer rarely concludes with the bald statement of such facts without going on to add that he hopes that his patron, for whom he has written the book, may enjoy and read it, both he and his offspring and their offspring, for all generations and generations, "until a donkey can climb a ladder." Of course, that means, or is intended to mean, a very long time, but then these good writers used not to visit music halls or hippodromes, where even that impossible feat may be occasionally witnessed. The origin of the expression has puzzled us all. My friend, Mr. Joseph Levy, suggests that חומר means the body חומרית and that the scribe meant to enjoy happiness until his body departs from the soul, which climbs to heaven. I believe it is merely the unsuccessful attempt of the feeble rhymester to find a rhyme (סולם) for Olam (עולם) and this would be almost proved by the MS. in the Turin Library, where we have a third rhyme in which Jacob and his "cholom" (חלם) is introduced. It is just possible that the daring scribe is there hinting that what Jacob saw in his dream climbing up the ladder were not angels but donkeys. That is quite in keeping with the bold, almost blasphemous,

spirit of a Heine, which occurs even in German MSS. of the fourteenth century. Sometimes, as Steinschneider, in his valuable *Vorlesungen über die Kunde Hebräischer Handschriften*, observes, the חמור is replaced by שור (ox) or even דחמור (*Dammhirsch* or elk) which preserves the rhyme but is a nobler animal. Sometimes, too, the writer substitutes himself for the donkey. Very often the scribes introduce personal details—about their writing without spectacles, or at such and such a speed, or about family history—into these colophons, and sometimes the more general history of their people, as when the scribe of a Massoretic Bible writes that the Bible was finished on the 1st of Adar or the 7th of Ab of 1492, “in which year the exiles of Jerusalem, which were in Spain, were driven out by command of the King,” and that he put the finishing touches to it (the Massoretic notes) in Constantinople three years later.

Sometimes the writers themselves introduced into their MS., by way of digression, an account of their own joys and sorrows. Thus the Samaritan and Karaite scribes are very fond of writing their own name even in a text, and as they must not add to the text, they get at their name by dotting letters which form it, or writing these letters large, or again, as in an autograph MS. of the historian Joseph the Sephardi, which I was happy enough to recently acquire in Casale Monferrato, the author breaks the thread of his story of the persecution of the Jews to tell of his own domestic troubles. Then again, the owners' notes about the sales and purchases of the MSS., or their division when inherited, supply constant topics of interest, especially when the money paid is expressly stated to be good or heavy. Large prices were paid for Hebrew MSS. once on a time even in England, and Jacobs, in the *Jews of Angevin England*, gives a case of a Bible forming chief part of a young English Jewess's dowry. One of the most interesting illustrated MSS. that I know of is the copy of the *Strong Hand* of Maimonides, which has been lately acquired by the city of Frankfort among the treasures of

the Merzbacher collection, though incomplete and only one of what were probably four volumes of that monumental work. At the beginning of each book it has a topical illustration, showing the subjects of which the book treats. For instance, in the book dealing with the laws as to damage (שור בור מבעה ומבעיר) there is a most expressive picture of the detected thief, with his face clearly showing his disgust at being captured. Then there is a picture of a donkey falling into the well, and another of a sleek cow grazing upon a field not its owner's. The best book about Hebrew illustrations is the *Hagadah of Sarajewo*, in two volumes. It reproduces the pictures in that Hagadah, and also contains essays and excursions upon the general subject contributed by Professor Kaufmann and others. I think the very last letter I received from him deals with that book. I had sent him a note about some illustrations by Giotto in a prayer-book of Nachmanides, written and drawn for a Cardinal, whom the Pope permits to read it, and Kaufmann defends himself from the charge that he denied that there was any Jewish art by Jewish artists. The part that women play in writing MSS. is also in itself not without interest; for instance, in Frankfort, a copy of one of the treatises on the Talmud was written by a woman. She was an Adler — האשה החשובה מ' ירחמה אדלער — and naturally chose the most difficult treatise to copy. Probably she did not understand a word of it, but she was a predecessor of the lady secretaries and typists of our own time.

Women play quite an important part in the Ketubah. Of those executed in Italy, most are decorated, and some quite sumptuously. The subject of the כתובה is so wide, that it deserves quite a lecture for itself. I must limit myself to showing you a specimen signed in Chieri, 1706. The decoration is daring rather than funny. Susanna was the bride, and so Adam and Eve are in keeping. The כתובה is otherwise interesting, but it is not easy to tell whether the border is pen and ink or engraved. Many early printed books were decorated by hand. Here

again is another Ketubah in which the bridegroom is called Isaac. He is the victim, and that is why you see the picture depicts the sacrifice of Isaac! I hope to have shown you, in however scrappy a fashion, that there is some amusement to be derived from the interior of a Hebrew MS.

Even should I not have succeeded in this, I do think you will agree with me that the hunt after MSS. is not without its cheerful side. Like all hunts, an element of sport enters into it, and one's gambling instincts are undoubtedly stimulated. You must adapt your tactics to the environment in which you find yourself. It is no good to apply the same manoeuvres in attempting to ferret out a rubbish heap in Aleppo that one would employ while treasure-seeking in the Ghettos of Northern Italy. In Lombardy, Venetia, and Emilia the Jews are periodically visited by booksellers' agents from Frankfort, Vienna, and even Husiatyn, and—Kearny, N.J. They are on the lookout for the unwary purchaser, and, *experto crede*, he does not find it very easy to get the advantage over them. There are some thirty-five congregations in Italy with Rabbis, the number of Jews in which varies from 8,000 in Rome to fifty-one in Chieri. The Rabbis are for the most part not too well acquainted with Hebrew literature. In fact, Deinard, whose pungent pen has been the terror of all the respectable Jews for a generation and more, says in an article that he published in the *Jehudi*, that he had been asked by one of these Italian Rabbis the meaning of *Gemara*. He had often heard the word used, but could not make out what it meant! Well, one goes to the Rabbi and asks him whether he knows anybody that has old books. One hopes that he will say that he himself has some which he is willing to part with for a consideration, but, though poor, like all Italians, he is proud, and whether it is that he does not possess a library or that what he does possess does not interest the book-lover, one generally draws a blank at the Rabbinate, but occasionally the Rabbi will call his wife and ask her whether she

doesn't remember the address of a widow whose husband used to have books; and so one finds one's way to the widow and sees what she has got. Even then one's task is very complicated. One does not see the widow; she is ailing, but a daughter comes and says that she does not know anything about books, but one may look if one likes and then she will show you Arabic or even Greek for Hebrew, and if one thinks it worth while to make an offer she says she will submit it, but somebody else has an option upon it already. In the Far East, for instance in Teheran, it would never do to go direct to a house and ask for books, for people are far too suspicious. You must never take them by surprise. Even in Constantinople I shall not forget the suspicion, approaching to terror, with which I was regarded when on the eve of a festival I came there a little early, when the elders were yet assembled round the porch. It is not usually my failing to be too early, but I got there and was gazed at from head to foot. Perhaps it was my tourist suit, or perhaps the shabbiness of my hat, but it was some time before I could persuade them that I was not an Armenian, and that my bulging pockets did not conceal dynamite. Well, in Teheran I had to take the synagogue as my base of operations. It was the first place I visited on my arrival early in the morning, and I was in time to take part in the morning service. Hebrew, a *lingua franca* which, however badly spoken, is a sure proof of one's Judaism, enabled me to be understood and accepted as one of themselves. So, after service and a few preliminaries, one asks "where is the Genizah," and is told "it is under the floor beneath that stone." The stone is easily removed and one goes down into a sort of damp cellar and finds the scraps of yesterday's letters mouldy and illegible. Still the search has stimulated curiosity, and I can explain that I am prepared to offer money, good money, for worthless old books. After most carefully explaining where I live, I express the hope that visitors will make their appearance. The trade of the

city is largely in the hands of dellals or bazaar brokers, many of whom are Jews. A dellal comes and offers carpets and embroideries and armour, and similar rubbish. I explain that it is not such articles that I want, but Hebrew books. Later on in the day he brings one or two. Next day two dellals come with books, and the next day four, till one could feel pretty certain that one would be able to ransack the whole place if one could stay long enough; but the funny thing is that, by means of these dellals, quite well-to-do people attempt to pass on their wares or family heirlooms to the mad stranger which they, while pressing hospitality upon him, would not dream of showing him themselves. They are proud or shy, or think that their price will be higher if the middleman is there to lie for them.

It is, of course, quite hopeless to choose one out of several books that are brought to you, the cheapest method is to buy the lot, nor must you let it appear which is the book you really want, when you make the purchase. At Bokhara, I had a lesson in that. It was 1897, and I was full of Apocrypha. People were very kind, and I had been lucky enough to gain the reputation of being a hakeem. A scientific nephew had supplied me with opium, and others of the specialities of Burroughs and Wellcome. I had met a well-to-do Jewish merchant on his way home from the fair at Nijni Novgorod in the Transcaspian Railway. He was travelling with his wives and favourite children and servants, but he was very thirsty and had drunk much water, and was like to die of dysentery. My opium pills worked like magic and made my reputation. When I got to Bokhara I had to visit him, and others. I was even called in to prescribe for an interesting young lady who was delirious with typhoid fever. The merchant may have been what a writer of brilliant imagination in the *Standard* calls the Rothschild of Central Asia, but he was certainly not a Croesus in our sense of the word. I was credibly informed that there was not a Jew in the whole of the Transcaspian that owned as

much as 50,000 roubles, and I am afraid that I have sufficient respect for money to have endeavoured to make the acquaintance of such a Rothschild had there been one. However, this is nothing to do with our subject. To return to the books. I asked for a Judith or a Tobit. "I have a Tobit," said one of the bystanders, and immediately demanded a hundred roubles for it without looking! And from that day to this I have been unable to buy or even see his MS. For the rest, I had got talked about, and people knew that I wanted books, and as luck would have it a trick of the Russian Government, which was intended to annoy me, enured to my great advantage.

When the Foreign Office applied for leave for me to travel in *Zakaspie* in search of Hebrew-Persian MSS. the Russian Government took from May to August to issue the permission, but, in the meantime, dispatched the most eminent Persian scholar in Europe, Professor Saleman, of Petersburg, to the district to hunt for such MSS. He was unlucky enough to tumble from his troika and break a rib, so that we arrived at Bokhara Station on the very same day, though he had had two months start of me. He, being a swell, went to stay with the Russian resident Ignatieff, near the station. I went straight to the old city of Bokhara twelve versts distant and bivouacked among the natives. Two days later he comes to the Residency in state and sends for the seven good men of the city, and in the name of the Tsar calls upon them to deliver up their Hebrew MSS. They preferred to let me have them, for I at least am a co-religionist, and so he gets only one to my thirty-seven. Abo Chachamow, a young but very intelligent son of a Rabbi, offered to take me round to the Jewish houses and seek for MSS. I arranged beforehand to pay him a commission, but not a commission on the price of the MSS. Oh no! A rouble for every book that I buy, whether cheap or dear. At one place I find some leaves of an early and unknown ritual. I ask where it is from and they say it is lumber, and then I offer more money for more leaves

of that same book, and three times as much if they can make it complete for me, and in the result nearly the whole of the MS. came to light in three or four different batches.

Sometimes, it requires a considerable amount of impertinence to do all that is necessary if one wishes to follow up a clue. One learns at Cairo that the last of the Jews of Rosetta had carried away with him the Genizah from that city and brought it to Alexandria for re-burial. One goes to the Chief Rabbi, an intelligent man and one who, since Schechter's discovery of the Hebrew Ecclesiasticus, knows why people are so interested in Egyptian relics. One tells him about the Rosetta Genizah, but he has not heard of it. He asks his myrmidons, and at last one says, "Oh yes, I know where it was buried." In my most courtly French I beg him to allow me to dig for it. "Certainly," says he, "we will arrange for it; come next week." "Oh but my boat leaves to-morrow for Marseilles." "Then I am afraid it will be impossible." "But if one pays the diggers?" "It is too late now." "Oh, but let them work over night." "Well, how much will you give?" And so the Genizah is uncovered and one rescues from the grave some quite important fragments of early MSS. as well as documents so late as a Cretan Ketubah of a poor divorcée of fifty years ago. All through the Mediterranean the natives know that the traveller is on the pounce for antiques. They do not know what antique means, but they attach considerable importance to the word. So in Corfu I am offered a little MS. and told that it is a very fine antique indeed. I say, "but it is dated 1830, quite modern," and the unblushing answer is "yes, certainly it is modern, but very antique," whereupon of course the precious volume is purchased. I fear that the narration of these episodes has only wearied you. I have tried to make them as impersonal as possible, but egotism will out, and I can only crave your forgiveness for having fallen a victim, and earn your pardon by bringing these remarks to a close.

**THE
ROMANCE OF HEBREW PRINTING**

THE ROMANCE OF HEBREW PRINTING.

[*A Paper read before the Union of Jewish Literary Societies at Ramsgate, on Aug. 24, 1904.*]

THROUGHOUT the Middle Ages, the Jews were practically alone in Europe to uphold science and literature. No doubt, from time to time, they were oppressed by robber barons, or harassed by the ignorant masses, but they were treated on terms of intellectual equality and friendship by all that was highest and best among the Gentiles. Every king had his Jewish doctor, and every studious monk his Jewish *intimus*, a living mine, from which he could extract sparkling bits of ore with which to shine in the pulpit. Even Dante is said to have had his Jewish friend. The fifteenth century ended in the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal, and a great change in their condition, but the expulsion took place after what was the greatest event of the century. This was not the discovery of a New World, although that was important enough. It was the discovery of printing. One of the mysteries of history, a mystery not yet solved, is as to the part the Jews played in that great discovery. They certainly did play a part in it. The first printed book recorded is Gutenberg's Bible, printed at Mainz about 1450. Mainz was sacked about 1462, and many printers' employées thrown out of work migrated thence to Italy and elsewhere. The first book printed in Italy appeared at Rome in 1467. Before the end of the fifteenth century, we know of at least 100 Hebrew books printed by Jewish printers. Of these 100 the British Museum possesses 75, Bodley's Library at Oxford 67, Parma 61, the City Library of Frankfort 56, and Judge Sulzberger 45.

From various indications, and especially from printed fragments found in the famous Cairo Genizah, we are certain that there must have been many more books than the round hundred printed in the fifteenth century. Fortunately, the early printer retained the egotistical habit of the scribe, and supplemented his work by a more or less lengthy colophon giving personal details. From these we can learn many things as to Jewish printing. One of the synonyms for a printer is *חֹתֵם בְּכַתְּבָא קַלָּמוֹתַי בְּלֹא מַעֲשֵׂה נִסִּים* 'who writes at once with many pens, and yet no miracle he kens.' This is an allusion to a curious passage in Talmud *Joma*, 36b, which has by some authorities been taken to prove that the rabbis anticipated the invention of printing. "Ben Qamcar would not teach the art of writing. They say of him that he took four pens (*קַלָּמוֹתַי*) between his fingers, and when a word had four letters, wrote it all at once."

In the fifteenth century there were 60 printers in Central and Northern Europe, 21 in the Netherlands, 32 in Italy, 31 in France, and 22 in Spain and Portugal. Among the 32 Italians were Benjamin of Rome; at Pieve di Sacco, M. Cusi; at Mantua, A. Cunat, the physician, and Estellina, his wife, and Abraham, of Cologne; at Reggio, A. Garton; at Naples, Joseph and Azriel Günzenhäuser, and Isaac ben Judah ibn Katorzi; at Bologna, Haïm Mordecai; at Rome, Manasseh and Obadiah ben Moses and Solomon b. Judah; at Naples, Solomon b. Perez; at Soncino, Casal Maggiore, Brescia and Barco, Joshua Solomon Soncino, and Gershon ben Moses Soncino; at Ferrara, Abraham dei Tintori; at Bologna, Hezekiah de Ventura; and at Naples, Yom Tob b. Perez, i.e. nineteen printers in eleven cities, of whom two were husband and wife, two father and son, two brothers, and three at least Germans. In addition to these, there was Shem Tob ibn Chalaz, the hitherto unknown printer of a 1486 edition of *Bachia*, and the two brothers, Judah and Reuben, who assisted him. Of a few incunables, notably the magnificent *Semag* printed before 1480, we

know neither date, place, nor printer, the watermark—a curious crossbow, and the style and get-up, however, point to Italy. In Spain, between 1482 and 1492, we know of five printers in three cities, viz., Solomon ibn Alkabiz, Eliezer Alantansi, Immanuel, and Samuel b. Musa, and Solomon Salmati b. Maimon, at Guadalajara, Ixar and Zamora. In Portugal there were four Jewish printers in three cities, viz., Samuel Giacon, Abraham d'Ortas, Eliezer Toledano, and Alantansi, at Faro, Leiria and Lisbon. Ortas printed as late as 1498, and we know of at least one book not in Hebrew printed by him which played a part in the history of the world. This was the *Almanach Perpetuus* of Abraham Zacuto, printed by Magister Ortas at Leiria in 1496.

Of this excessively rare work, Graesse states that the only copy known was in the Royal Library of Lisbon, but within the last few years another copy, with Columbus's calculations, written in his own hand, to verify those of Zacuto, has been discovered among the gifts of his son, Fernando Columbus, by the librarian of the "Columbina" library at Seville, which possesses six other books that belonged to Columbus.

I have been fortunate enough to find another copy in Madrid, and Dr. Freimann, the Librarian of the Frankfort City Library, writes in his lecture *Ueber Hebräische Inkunabeln* (Leipzig, 1902) that a copy was offered for sale by Martini of Lucca, for 1,500 francs. "It was this very book," says Curtis in his *Authentic Letters of Columbus* (Chicago, 1895) "that Columbus used to predict the eclipse of the moon, which so terrified the Indians in Jamaica that they became obedient to him, and furnished his party with food." It is a surviving monument of the part the Jews played in the discovery of America.

The Soncinos were almost as famous for their non-Jewish books as for their Hebrew ones, and for some years were the great rivals of the Aldines. They, too, were originally a German family, and came from Speyer,

near Mainz (Gershon, in the colophon to the *Brescia Pentateuch* of 1492, says that his German name was Menzeln, i. e. of Mainz) נקרא מענצלן שונצן, and the first of their long line may have been a pupil of Gutenberg himself. Several books have been written about their achievements. The best of them seems to be Manzoni's. One of the family, Jerome Soncino, was converted to Christianity, and, like most converts, became a rabid anti-Semite, "Anti-Judaici ex-Judaei." His Petrarch of 1503, in italic type, is dedicated to Caesar Borgia. In the Dedication he explains why he set up his press at Fano, and tells how he had thither attracted "un nobilissimo scultore de littere latine, graece, et hebraice, chiamato M. Francesco de Bologna." From this we may infer that some at least of the beautiful Hebrew types of the Soncinos were cut by the famous painter Francia. I possess Jerome Soncino's edition of Galatinus, printed at Ortona in 1518, which was the first book printed in that city. The book has 300 leaves folio, in which it seeks to establish the truth of Catholicism against the obstinate perfidy of the Jews of that time as proved by excerpts from the Talmud. There are thirteen other cities mentioned by Zunz, in which the first book printed in any language was Hebrew. The first book printed in Portugal bearing a date was the *Nachmanides*—a sufficient proof of the importance of Hebrew in the history of printing.

By an amiable fiction, the period during which Hebrew books are called incunables, has been, by some zealous bibliographers, extended to 1540, i. e. the year ϖ -5300. Certainly such an extension makes it easier for libraries to boast of possessing incunables, inasmuch as even Schwab's incomplete list in his *Incunables Orientaux* (Paris, 1883), records 530 Hebrew books printed before that date. Some of these, especially treatises of the Talmud—three of which, *Ketubot*, *Gittin*, and *Baba Mezia*, printed in 1488 or 1489, are not even extant—are very rare, but some are quite common. It is difficult to tell

how many books went to make an edition. The colophon to the Psalms of 1477, however, says that 300 copies were printed, of which we know, perhaps, a dozen copies. In 1867 Zedner records thirty-eight books in the British Museum, of which no other copy, or only one or two other copies, were known to exist. Of these I possess at least half-a-dozen. And yet of at least twenty of the Hebrew books printed before 1500 only a single copy is known, but it would be rash nowadays to call anything unique. Only within the last few weeks a Talmud *Shebuoth* was brought me from the Island of Jerba, which was identified as printed in Pesaro, by the fact that its pages were numbered in the Italian style. Rabbinovitz lamented that no copy was known in his time. Dr. Freimann, however, found one last year in Florence, and now my copy makes a second. Another Hebrew, or part Hebrew, book is the famous polyglot Psalter of Genoa, of 1516. This Psalter contains, by way of commentary to the Psalm xix, "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handiwork," an account of the achievements of Columbus, inasmuch as he was a native of Genoa. It is therefore highly prized by the Americans, but it cannot be said to be rare. Two thousand copies were printed (twice as many as the edition of the first, second, third, or fourth folio Shakespeare). I value my copy far less than a similar polyglot Psalter printed at Cologne in 1518, which was the first Hebrew book printed in that city, and of which only a limited edition can have been made. Both of these polyglots, as well as the still more famous and magnificent polyglot Bible of Cardinal Ximenes, printed at Alcalá d'Henares, between 1514 and 1517, were printed by Christians for Christians.

Two polyglot Pentateuchs, however, were printed by Jews for Jews at Constantinople in 1546 and 1547. The one contains, besides the Hebrew and the Targum, Persian and Arabic translations, the other Greek and Spanish. The Persian of Tawus is the only literary monument of middle

Persian, and the Greek the only one of middle Greek. By Christians, the Hebrew Bible and its grammar were much studied about the time of the Reformation, and, taken as a whole, Hebrew Bibles and grammars printed by Christians are more usually to be found in the great public libraries, especially on the Continent, than are those which emanated from Jews. The reason for this is that the Christian theologians, who were mostly monks, bought the books, placed them on their shelves, and then forgot about them. Occasionally, perhaps, some friar more studious than his brethren may have looked at them, but, taken as a class, monks are not bookish men. You will, therefore, find that the condition of the books preserved in monasterial libraries is very good, the books are clean, and, like those of a collector, acquired for the purposes of hoarding, rather than reading. The Revolution brought about the secularization of most of the Continental monasteries, their libraries were confiscated by the State, and the most precious of their possessions impounded in the national libraries. Munich and Frankfort are consequently particularly rich in early Hebrew printed books.

The earliest date at which a Hebrew book is recorded to have been printed is February 5, 1475. This is the date given in the colophon of the *Rashi*, printed in Reggio di Calabria, which may fairly be assumed to have been begun in 1474. The four folio volumes of the *Tur* were finished July 3, 1475, in Piove di Sacco. Of these Mrs. Seligmann Goldschmidt, of Frankfort, possesses a magnificent volume printed on parchment. Wolff (quoted by De Rossi and Schwab), however, devotes five pages to an account of Peter Niger's treatise against the Jews, printed at Esslingen, near Vienna, on June 6, 1475 (V. 1110-1115). This treatise contains three words in Hebrew, the first two words of the Bible, and the Tetragrammaton. Of itself this would not be of much importance, were it not for the fact that it is the only book known to have been printed in Germany in the fifteenth century with Hebrew types.

There may have been other books so printed in Germany or Austria, but they have not yet come to light, although one may always expect to meet with them in the Genizah of a monastery or convent. It is an indication anyhow that printing in Hebrew was known in Germany at the time when German printers introduced it into Italy. Several incunables were probably printed before either the *Rashi* or *Tur*, but, as neither place nor date is assigned to them, the fact cannot be affirmed with certainty. It would be only natural to suppose that a Prayer-Book or a Pentateuch would have been the first book a Jew wished to print.

The choice of books to print is interesting. Thirteen, and that means thirteen per cent. of the whole, were Bible texts, ten were commentaries on the Bible. *Rashi* and *Kimchi* were each printed six times, and *Nachmanides* three times. *Bachya* was printed twice¹ before 1500, and seems to have been the most popular of all commentators, for he was frequently reprinted in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, and *Nachmanides* runs him very close. Probably it was because philosophy, with a leaning towards mysticism, was congenial to the cultured Italian Jew of the time. *Bachya* was comparatively easy to understand. His explanations are direct נפש, and then he is fond of parables and also inclined a little to cabala. *Ibn Ezra*, however, is too dry and mathematical to be popular, and so he is only printed once in the fifteenth century, and *Gersonides* also for the same reason had only a *succès d'estime*, for his commentaries on the Pentateuch, Job, and Daniel were each printed once only, and that before 1480, after which he was not printed again until 1547. The *Tur*, a forerunner of the *Shulchan Aruch*, was printed in whole, or in part, not less than nine times. This was, no doubt, because it was the compendium of Jewish laws and observances, and required for teaching in the school and the Beth Hamidrash. That it was used as a school book

¹ I possess an incomplete but unique copy of an edition printed, probably in Rome, in 1486, and hitherto unrecorded.

is proved by the excessively rare quarto edition of the *Orach Ha'im* printed before 1500, which contains in the three copies known a picture of a rabbi teaching his pupils, wedged into a blank corner, left on the last page of the index. This picture is taken from the Brescia edition of the *Mashal Hakadmoni*—Ibn Sahula's Book of Fables. Curiously enough, a copy just brought to me, also from the Island of Jerba, does not contain the picture. This would seem to show that the two books were printed about the same time. Of prayer-books only nine or ten are known, but there must have been many more. Printed grammars, *Aruch*, ethical works, and *Maimonides* recur once or twice, but of the twenty-three treatises of the Talmud known to have been printed before 1511, only ten seem to have been published before 1500, and, of these, *Bezah*, the first treatise generally learnt by the student, and *Chullin* and *Niddah* ran into a second edition. The only works of contemporaries printed in the fifteenth century were the *Agur* of Jacob Landau, and the *Nofet Zufim* of Judah ben Jechiel. The latter is a book of rhetoric, and no second edition appeared of it until 1863. Still more remarkable is the *Machberoth Immanuel*, a daring poetical satire of the fourteenth century, written by Immanuel Ben Solomon, of Rome, the friend and imitator of Dante. This book was printed at Brescia in 1491, and again, with vowel points, at Constantinople in 1535, but Rabbi Joseph Karo, the compiler of the *Shulchan Aruch*, disapproved of the work, and forbade it to be read, even on week-days, saying that its printers caused the multitude to sin. Thanks to this prohibition it was not reprinted until 1796, when a new edition appeared in Berlin, due to the Voltairean spirit of that city, and influenced, perhaps, by the broad-minded views of Mendelssohn. It should, however, be added that the 28th chapter, the *Makama* dealing with Eden and Tophet, i.e. the *Paradiso* and *Inferno*, appeared at Prague in 1613, and Frankfort in 1713, and in Yiddish at Prague between those dates.

In order to give a general idea of the relative frequency of printed books, it may be of interest to give the list compiled by Zedner, the most accurate of our bibliographers, showing the distribution of the 10,100 volumes, mostly from the Michael and Almanzi libraries at the British Museum, catalogued by him in 1867:—

1. Bibles	1,260 vols.
2. Commentaries on the Bible	510 "
3. Talmud	730 "
4. Commentaries on the Talmud	700 "
5. Codes of Law	1,260 "
6. Decisions	520 "
7. Midrash	160 "
8. Cabala	460 "
9. Sermons... ..	400 "
10. Liturgies	1,200 "
11. Divine Philosophy	690 "
12. Scientific Works	180 "
13. Grammars, Dictionaries	450 "
14. History, Geography	320 "
15. Poetry, Criticism	770 "

In 1894 Mr. Van Straalen made a catalogue of the 7,800 additional Hebrew volumes acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum, so that the collection must now number about 20,000 volumes. That of the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York, thanks chiefly to the liberality of Judge Sulzberger, already numbers 15,000, and is, therefore, no mean rival of our own National Library.

It is one of the penalties or privileges (?) of the collector of books that he has little time or disposition to look at their insides. Their exterior is too fascinating, and, in this respect, perhaps, he is really more like a bookworm than is the industrious, dry-as-dust reader who is generally taken for that curiosity of natural history. It is, by the by, somewhat strange that no less an authority on the exterior of books than Zaehnsdorf, the great bookbinder, is reported to have declared that there was no such thing as a bookworm. He is utterly mistaken. I have seen many, alas,

far too many, of that species, and they are particularly common, whether as grub, chrysalis, or fully developed bookworm, in books coming from the East, and especially the Yemenite books that have reached us via Aden.

The early printers, although they were not bookworms in any so derogatory a sense, were by no means such superior persons as to disregard the exterior of their work. And so it is that really magnificent title-pages and sumptuous printing are characteristic of the early printer. Many of the Hebrew incunables were printed on vellum as well as on paper. Bibles, Liturgies, and even Talmuds, are so distinguished. The British Museum possesses half-a-dozen treatises of the Talmud printed on vellum. Three of these were in the original Royal Library, presented to the Museum by King George the Second. They and the nine other volumes of the *Editio Princeps* of the Talmud were, indeed, the only Hebrew works that collection contained. A seventh treatise, also on vellum, is just reported to me from Oran. As a rule, a book printed on vellum is worth ten times as much as one on paper.

In a few cases the vellum copy is actually more common than the copy printed on paper. Thus, of the Bible printed at Ixar in Spain, in 1490, of the half-dozen copies known four are on vellum, and only two, of which mine is one, on paper, and the paper of the last leaf of my copy being torn, I was able to replace it by a corresponding leaf on vellum, which I found in the Genizah.

Still more interesting is the case of the beautiful *Daily Prayer Book* printed at Bologna by, and for the use of, the Guild of Silk Workers in 1537. I know of at least six times as many copies on vellum as are extant on paper. One would have expected to find copies printed on silk, rather than vellum, but the publishers were evidently connoisseurs, and it would be worth while to investigate their economic conditions a little more closely. There was yet another Hebrew Guild, that of the Tintori, or Dyers, of whom Rabbi Abraham הצובקוט was one of the earliest

Hebrew printers, perhaps because of his connexion with ink.

Of late years, even before William Morris, people of taste and means have occasionally printed special copies of their works upon vellum or silk. I possess such vellum specimens of Hebrew books printed in Paris in 1866 and 1868, in Mainz in 1873, and in London in 1876, the last a volume of Schlosberg's edition of the *More Nebuchim*, and our learned friend the Haham, if I remember rightly, presented Mrs. Gaster, a couple of years ago, with a beautiful large vellum copy of his clever lecture on "Hebrew Illuminated Bibles."

In addition to sumptuous printing, we have what may be pardonably called freak printing, books printed with red ink on white paper, like an Amsterdam Prayer-Book of 1715, or the *Rules of a Friendly Society in Aleppo*, printed there in 1898, or a *Prague Hagadah* of 1713, printed with black types on red paper, or the cabalistical treatise of Perez Gerondi, printed on blue by Usque, at Ferrara, in 1557—the same man, by the by, as printed the famous Jews' Bible of Ferrara, for a copy of which as much as £80 has been paid at public auction in England.

More curious, however, than any of these is the typographical freak זמיר ערצים printed at Newark in 1899. The "Zmir Oritzim" is an anonymous controversy against the sect of Chassidim. Mr. Deinard, who is not only a Hebrew author of eminence, but also a collector, has thought fit to publish this little book of seventy-six pages in an extraordinary shape (about two inches wide by eight inches long) on leaves of the following colours: blue, brown, green, pink, yellow, and vermilion orange, only two pages being white!

I am afraid I have wandered a long way from my subject, but I must mention one class of Hebrew print which really does tinge on the romantic. I mean the volumes of special prayers, *Tikkunim*, in Hebrew and Spanish, which were the result of the religious enthusiasm produced in

Amsterdam by the Zionism of 1666. Sabbatai Zevi, the false Messiah of Smyrna, whose career was stranger than any fiction, was firmly believed in by the Spanish Jews of Amsterdam, many of whom had but lately escaped from the power of the Inquisition. In their archives, and among my own MSS., are two extraordinary documents signed by its leaders, including a Gubbay, two Abarbanel, a Leon, a Mendes, a Dortas, an Osorio, a Lumbroso de Mattos, a Senior, an Abudiente, a Bernal, a Souza, and an Aboab, solemnly certifying their allegiance to "Our Lord and Messiah Sabbatai Zevi." The *Tikkunim* were collections of penitential prayers to be read by watchers in the night, and their title-pages generally contain the chronological word רמ"ב to represent both the date 1666 and the word "Messiah." I have half-a-dozen such *Tikkunim* printed for, or by, David de Castro, Tartaz, Samuel Baruch Rosa, Joshua Sarphati, and Joseph Athias. It would seem that each of these gentlemen wished to associate his name with that of the pseudo-Messiah, and even the printers figure as editors, the words "en casa y a costa de" (in the house and at the cost of) occasionally preceding their names. But even more interesting than these title-pages are the engravings which often face them. These are mostly pictures of Sabbatai on a throne, or seated at a banquet amidst his disciples, or there appears a hand from the heavens anointing him, or two hands are stretched forth from the sky holding a wreath or a crown over his head. All these volumes are tiny and very expensive, but they are much sought after, especially in Holland.

The history of illustrated books and title-pages, for all that the Jews have never been great artists, is one that deserves a lecture to itself. The most interesting of them is the *Mashal Hakadmoni*, to which reference has already been made. This was first printed at Brescia in 1490, then at Fano, about the end of the fifteenth century, again at Venice in 1546, and thereafter at Frankfort on the Oder in 1693 in Hebrew and Yiddish. The latest pictures are the

worst. The earliest remind one of the delicate illustrations to the Aldine *Ovid*. Manasseh ben Israel was a great printer and his books are occasionally illustrated. Thus his edition of Medigo's *Elim* (Amsterdam, 1629) is full of diagrams, and his own mystical *Piedra Gloriosa* contains four (one copy has seven) etchings attributed to Rembrandt. The four etchings on one page, i.e. in an early state before the plate was cut into four for interleaving, are very rare. A copy sold at the Buckingham sale in 1834 fetched £57 18s., and was subsequently acquired by the British Museum for £100.

The *Hagadah* has always been a favourite subject for illustration, and there are many different types for its pictures. Prague (1526), Augsburg (1534), Mantua (1550), Venice (1599), are all artistic Hagadahs, but the chief editions with which we are familiar have sadly deteriorated from their prototypes. Amsterdam, Leghorn and Vienna are now the chief producers of what, after all, is the one book especially intended for the Jewish child. Leghorn now publishes the same illustrations to *Hagadahs* in Italian, Spanish, Arabic, Persian, and Yiddish, of which one is literally diabolical. The best of modern copies is the sumptuous *Hagadah von Sarajewo* (Vienna, 1898), which reproduces many pictures, from MSS. and editions, together with valuable excursuses by Professor Kaufmann and others on Jewish art.

The *Scroll of Esther* is also much illustrated, sometimes on parchment, and with a limited variety of Oriental imagery. *Minhagim*, books showing Jewish customs, and generally printed in Yiddish, for the use of Jewish women, have also many pictures, lighting the candles, taking Challah, blessing the moon, and so on. Horn books and broad sheets for teaching the Hebrew letters generally contain a woodcut of an impatient master thrashing his pupil. I have a sixteenth-century Venetian specimen. Josippon, the unscientific variant of Josephus, is also often adorned with woodcuts, borrowed probably from its

Christian similars. Here we meet with knights in armour, and all the appanages of chivalry—again intended for the Jewish woman. She was by no means the snubbed, down-trodden creature imagined by her shrieking sisterhood of to-day, and Marie Corelli would be surprised to learn that it was the Jewish mother who, in her favourite *Bové Buch*, kept the Arthurian legend alive.

Jewish women, too, played a very big part in the history of Jewish printing. We have already referred to Estellina Cunat, who helped her learned husband to print several books before 1480. He taught her how to print, and they became so expert at the trade, or profession rather, that he could boast, she did not, of producing no less than 2,000 folio pages in a single day. Esther Chiera¹, the widow of Elias Chandali, was the influential favourite of the Sultana Baffa, the Venetian wife of Murad the Third, and amassed a big fortune. Some of this she delighted to spend on the printing and publication of Hebrew books, especially the history or chronicle of Abraham Zacuto, which seems to have been printed at her expense at Constantinople in 1566. After a conflagration in Constantinople, three years later, Isaac Akrish relates that she found quarters in her house for his wife, daughter, and part of his library. Samuel Schullam tells not only of her charity, but that every day she has scholars round her table who, rare thing, listen rather than talk, ככל יום ויום סביב לשולחנה חברים מקשיבים.

One of the most charming ladies of Jewish history is Donna Gracia Mendes or Nassi (1510–1568), a wealthy and highly intelligent Portuguese Maranna, who certainly deserves the honour of a lecture to herself. The Ferrara Bible is dedicated to her "Grace" as the person whose "deserts among our people will always occupy the foremost place." Her daughter Reyna, Duchess of Naxos, not only patronized Jewish printers, but set up a printing press of her own at Belvedere, and afterwards at Kuru Geshme, near Constantinople; and it is largely owing to

¹ Graetz, IX, note 7.

her liberality that the Sultan's dominions were, throughout the sixteenth century, distinguished for the best editions of the best works from the best MSS. Graetz, it is true, sneers at the selection of books she printed, but he is hardly fair. Her husband was very nearly King of Cyprus; as Duke of Naxos he played a very big part in European politics. He was one of the rebuilders of Tiberias, and anticipated that other Prince in Israel, Baron Edmond de Rothschild, in the introduction there of mulberry trees and silk looms. When Sultan Selim died in 1574, his successor, Murad, allowed him to fall in disgrace, and confiscated his possessions on his death a year or two later. But Donna Reyna was allowed to retain her dowry of 90,000 golden ducats, and found comfort in her printing-press.

In 1860 Steinschneider published a catalogue of the printed Hebrew books at the Bodleian, which is really an almost complete Bibliography of Hebrew books printed before 1730. He gives a list of 7,622 authors, 1,704 Jewish printers and 232 Christian printers. This will serve to show how vast is the subject. It also gives some indication of the number of our printed books. The British Museum alone possesses 20,000, and when one considers that some authors are responsible for over a hundred works or editions (e.g. Maimonides 159, and Karo 114), it will not be extravagant to assign an average of four works to each author. This would give a total of 30,488 separate Hebrew books.

Naturally, Jews were the most numerous printers of Hebrew books, more than seven times as many as the Gentile. But Judaism is infinitely indebted to some of the Christian printers of its works, to the Bombergs of Venice, who published the first Rabbinical Bible and three editions of the Talmud, the Stephani of Paris, the Plantins of Antwerp, the Bragadini and the Vendramini, and, above all, to the British and Foreign Bible Society, which has just celebrated its centenary. The Society's Hebrew Bibles

are familiar to every Jewish scholar. They are clear, accurate and cheap, and, without their aid, the task of teaching our poor, whether at the Board schools or our own denominational ones, would have been very difficult.

It would not be right to dismiss our subject without saying something at least as to England's part in Hebrew printing. Unfortunately it is not very important. Many Hebrew books were printed before Caxton first introduced the magic art into England, and, as Jews were not supposed to be officially domiciled here before 1655, it would be too much to expect great things from the *Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica*, as Joseph Jacobs and Lucien Wolf call their bibliographical guide to Anglo-Jewish history. And yet, though naturally incomplete, it contains 2,181 entries, a very large proportion of which relate to Hebrew or Jewish books printed in the British Empire. Hebrew books have been printed at Aden (1885), Bath (1803), Bombay (1856), Calcutta (1844), Cambridge (1685), Dublin (1846), Edinburgh (1857), London (1596¹), Liverpool (1815), Madras (1819), Oxford (1655), and Pontefract (1816). An early Hebrew book printed in London was Taylor's *Pirke Abot*, published in 1651, so that a Taylor has been connected with the ethics of the Fathers for 250 years. Then comes Pococke's *Porta Mosis* of Maimonides at Oxford in 1655, and a little *Psalter and Lamentations* at Cambridge in 1685. Two other books of the seventeenth century worthy of mention are Farisol's *Itinera Mundi*, published at Oxford in 1691 (Farisol was a friend of Columbus and one of his first trumpeters in that geographical work), and the *Tagh-mical Art of Hebrew Accents*, published in London in 1698, of which I am the proud possessor of a copy containing the rare autograph of John Locke.

¹ *Daniel His Chaldie Visions and his Ebrew . . . At London Printed by Richard Field for William Young near the great North doore of Pauls . . . 1596.* This curious book contains several pages in Hebrew couplets alternately black and red, in a small and delicate square character not unlike that of the famous *Mashal Hakadmoni*, printed at Venice fifty years earlier. The author, Hugh Broughton, was much concerned for the conversion of Jews.

The first London liturgies are perhaps a *Hagadah* of 1709, and Gemaliel ben Pedahzur's *Book of Religious Ceremonies and Prayers*, of 1738. The first m^h, almanack, was one published by Abendana at Oxford in 1692. The first Jewish cookery-book, *The Jewish Manual or Practical Information on Jewish or Modern Cookery, with a Collection of Recipes or Hints Relating to the Toilet*, appeared in London in 1846. The first book on synagogue music, Braham and Nathan's *Selection of Hebrew Melodies*, in 1815. The first Jewish newspapers (of which Jacobs and Wolf record thirty-nine) were: In London, the *Hebrew Intelligencer* in 1823; in Sydney, the *Voice of Jacob* in 1842; in Gibraltar, the *Esperanza Israelitica* in 1843; in Jamaica, the *First Fruits of the West* in 1844; in Liverpool, the *Cup of Salvation* in 1846. The *Jewish Chronicle* first appeared in 1841, and it has rivals more or less humble in Adelaide, Bombay, Calcutta, Cardiff, Leeds, Melbourne, and Manchester, &c. The Indian papers are interesting as being in the Marathi language in Hebrew characters. Beautiful specimens of English printing are the Rev. S. Singer's shilling Prayer-book, which has already run through many editions, the new Hebrew and English *Machzor* now being published, and the Hebrew work generally of the Oxford and Cambridge University Presses.

The United States of America have now become the centre of gravity for all things Jewish, but, till the middle of the last century, the only cities where Hebrew books were printed seem to have been Baltimore, Cincinnati, New York, and Philadelphia, where a fine edition of the Hebrew Bible was published in 1814. Nowadays, however, it has become necessary to publish a bibliography of such works. The person who has undertaken that task is himself a curiosity of Judaism, Ephraim Deinard, traveller, author, collector, bookseller, and printer. He has his own printing-press in his modest dwelling-house at Newark, New Jersey, where he has gathered round him a quite remarkable number of American Judaica.

I feel acutely conscious of having failed to do justice to the subject, and must crave your pardon for proving myself a bore. I have not even touched upon such fascinating subjects as the damage of Hebrew books by fire and censorship, or the Hebrew Prayer-books in Latin type printed for the use of the Marannos in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Bibliography is not necessarily a dry subject, and its Jewish masters were evidence to the contrary. But it allows no scope for originality, at least it ought not to do so. And so it is only fair that I should express my acknowledgements for having to-night borrowed extensively from the Nestor of Hebrew Science—Professor Steinschneider, from Zedner and Chwolson, and from my friends Freimann and Schwab and Joseph Jacobs.

**ZUR JÜDISCH-PERSISCHEN
LITTERATUR**

L

ZUR JÜDISCH-PERSISCHEN LITTERATUR.

DURCH die Güte des Besitzers der grössten Sammlung jüdisch-persischer Handschriften, meines verehrten Freundes Elkan N. Adler, bin ich in der Lage, neun Nummern dieser Sammlung näher zu beschreiben, über welche bisher fast nichts bekannt war. In dem von ihm selbst veröffentlichten Cataloge seiner theils in Bochara (B), theils in Teheran (T) erworbenen hebräisch-persischen Handschriften (*J. Q. R.*, X, 584 ff.) sind die hier zu beschreibenden Codices als T 4, 19, 40, 64, 72 und als B 18, 38 bezeichnet. Sie tragen auch eine weitere, der allgemeinen Nummerirung der Adler'schen Handschriftensammlung gehörende Ziffer. Eines der hier zu beschreibenden Manuscripte (unten, No. VI.) ist im Catalog noch nicht angeführt und trägt die allgemeine Bezeichnung No. 341. Mit T 64 (177) sind zwei verschiedene Manuscripte (unten, II. und III.) bezeichnet. Wenn ich hier eine genaue Inhaltsangabe dieser neun Handschriften veröffentliche, so leitet mich dabei die Absicht, die noch sehr lückenhaften Kenntnisse von dem in hebräischer Schrift überlieferten persischen Schriftthume zu erweitern und damit namentlich einen Beitrag zur Geschichte der jüdisch-persischen Poesie zu bieten. Aber auch diejenigen Bestandtheile der hier zu beschreibenden Handschriften, welche entweder in Erzeugnissen der hebräischen Poesie oder in Dichtungen nichtjüdischer persischer Autoren bestehen, eröffnen uns den Einblick in das Geistesleben und die Cultur der persisch redenden Juden, indem wir aus ihnen ersehen, welche Elemente der mittelalterlichen hebräischen Poesie einerseits, der so überaus reichen neupersischen Poesie andererseits bei ihnen Eingang fanden

und Heimatsrecht gewannen. Der gegenwärtige Beitrag zur Kenntniss der jüdisch-persischen Litteratur schliesst sich meinen früheren Artikeln an, in denen ich ebenfalls zwei Adler'sche Handschriften (B 16, B 36)¹ sowie ein in Jerusalem gedrucktes Liederbuch² beschrieben. Das letztere ist im Folgenden mit seinem Titel "Jismach Israel" (ישמח ישראל) citirt.

I.

T 72 (566), 53 Blätter klein 8° von derselben Hand geschrieben. Anfang und Ende fehlen, auch in der Mitte sind Lücken. Die Blätter sind in unrichtiger Reihenfolge gebunden. Die richtige wäre: 29-32, 13, 1-6, 7-12, 28, 21-27, 14-20, 33-53.

1. Ein hebr. Gedicht, dessen Anfang und Ende fehlen (Bl. 29). Die vorhandenen Strophen lassen es als das unten (III, 34) zu erwähnende Gedicht Samuel b. Nissims erkennen. Jedoch lautet der Anfang der vorletzten Strophe anders als dort und in Jismach Israel (39 b).

2. (30 a-31 a.) Alphabetisches Gedicht mit dem durchgehenden Reime עים. Anfang: אבוא בנבורות שם שוכן רקיעים. Der Schluss (aus Ps. i. 1): אשרי האיש אשר לא הלך בעצת רשעים.

3. (31 a-32 a.) Umgekehrt alphab. Gedicht mit dem durchgehenden Reime הים (auch חים). Anfang: חזיש ישועה לנו. אלהי האלהים. Schluss (aus Ps. xc. 1): תתן תפלה למזכירי תפלה: למשה איש האלהים.

4. (32 b, 13, 1 a-3 b.) Nağara's Gedicht: ידך נלה (No. 165 des Diwan, p. 60 a), mit persischer Übersetzung jeder Strophe. Der ersten hebräischen Strophe geht die Überschrift מקרא voran, was soviel bedeutet wie "hebräischer Text."³ Vor der ersten persischen Strophe ist der Urheber der Übersetzung genannt: תפסיר אונט'חתי מ' נתן נולפארנוני. Der Übersetzer hiess also Molla Nathan Gulpādegani (wohl nach seiner Heimat so genannt; vgl. unten, VI, 2). Die

¹ Z. d. D. M. G., LIII, 387-427.

² J. Q. R., XIV, 116-128.

³ Vgl. מרעס in der Bedeutung: aramäischer Text.

Übersetzung ist ohne das Original in "Jismach Israel" (S. 64 f.) abgedruckt; am Schlusse bietet sie zwei originale persische Strophen.—Dieser Nummer geht die allgemeine Überschrift voran: **אתחיל לכתוב קצת מזמירות ישראל**.

5. (3 b–4 b.) Persische Kaside; 16 Distichen mit dem Reime **—ל**, zu dem auch hebräische Wörter auf **אל** verwendet werden. Es ist ein Gebet, in welchem der Prophet Jechezkel um Fürbitte bei Gott angerufen wird. Der Anfang lautet: **סר ונאנם פדאיית נביא יחזקאל** **המי באהם תורא אז נאן ואורל**. Die 13. Strophe: **בררנאה כדאי רב עאלם** **מלב כן אז בראי מא חו נואל**. In der Schlusstrophe—**יוראן כותאן בנדהי מסכין**—**יחזקאל**, d. h. "Fürsprecher und Bürge aller Juden, besonders des armen Dieners Jechezkel"—nennt sich der Dichter, der also den Namen des angerufenen Propheten trug. Die Überschrift des Gedichtes lautet: **מנאנא נאמה ונא נביא יחזקאל** **ע"ה**. Der erste Theil dieser Überschrift ("Buch der vertraulichen Unterredungen," d. h. der Gebete) bezeichnet vielleicht eine ganze Sammlung ähnlicher Gedichte.

6, 7. Nach der Überschrift **זמירות אחר** folgen zwei hebr. Gedichte: **עז דודים בלה** (5 a b, Akrostich **חיים**, s. Jismach Israel, p. 64 a) und **יורו שמך גדול ונורא** (5 b–6 b; dieses letztere hat die Überschrift: **סימן ישראל**). Zu No. 6 s. auch unten, IV, 2.

8. (6 b.) Übers. des Nağara'schen aramäischen Gedichtes **יה רבן עולם**. Nur die erste Strophe ist da, die nächsten Blätter fehlen. Die ganze Übersetzung steht auch im Jismach Israel, woraus ich sie *J. Q. R.*, XIV, 126 transscribirt herausgegeben habe. S. auch unten, III, 7; VII, A 11.

9. (7 a–8 b.) Das mit den Worten **יהלל ייב שפחתי** beginnende Gedicht Nağara's nebst persischer Übersetzung jeder Strophe. Der Anfang (das hebr. Original der ersten Strophe) fehlt. S. auch Jismach Israel, 28 a und unten, III, 3.

10. (9 a b.) Nağara's **ישראל נושע בה**. Nur hebräisch.

11. (9 b–10 b.) Hebr. Gedicht mit dem Akrostich **מרכי** **מרים לראשי שלח לחמי**. Anfang: **חן**.

12. (10 b–12 b.) Nağara's ליום אורה לשמך, nebst pers. Übers. jeder Strophe und einer persischen Schlussstrophe, in der sich der Übersetzer nennt (אלהו פקיר).

13. (12 b, 28, 21–27, 14–20.) Überschrift: שהאורה צופי, d. i. Königssohn und Sûfi (Prinz und Derwisch), die metrische Übersetzung von Abraham Ibn Chasdai's בן המלך והנויר. Der Überschrift folgt der Titel der VIII. Pforte (באב השתם), ausser der in unserer Handschrift noch die IX. (23 a), X. (25 a), XI. (27 b) und XII. (18 a) Pforte enthalten sind. Der Schluss der letztern fehlt, findet sich aber nebst den weiteren Pforten (bis XVII) in einer anderen Adler'schen Handschrift (s. unten, IV, 3).

14. (33 a–53 b.) Theil einer grösseren erzählenden Dichtung (in Reimpaaren), deren Held Haidar Beg (חיידר בייד) ist und in der Schah Abbas eine Hauptrolle spielt. Es sind sechs Abschnitte erhalten, der Schluss des letzten fehlt. Das Gedicht hat keine jüdischen Beziehungen.

II.

T 64 a (177 a), 67 Bl. kl. 8° (blaues Papier).—Die ersten 7 Blätter von anderer Schrift als die übrigen.

1. (1 b–7 b.) Überschrift: אזהרות שחיבר כה"ר מ' נתנאל בן כמ"ר. Das in der Überschrift erwähnte Akrostich des Dichters Nathanael b. Moses findet sich in den Strophenanfängen des einleitenden Gedichtes (Anfang: נותן נשמה וגם יצר אדמה השוכן שמימה יי אלהים), dessen jede Strophe von der persischen Übers. begleitet ist. Der erste Theil der Azharoth hat die Überschrift: תחילת המצות und eine persische Eingangsstrophe, welche pietätsvoll Salomon Ibn Gabirols gedenkt, als des "Meisters aller Dichter":

אבן גבירול שלמה סרור
או נשת ברריא פראן שנאר
בד רח רואנש נאוראן שאר
כה או נשת בר שאעראן נמלה אוסתאר

Es sind nur noch zwanzig Strophen erhalten, hebräisch und persisch. Der durchgehende Endreim der Strophen ist רים, wie in Ibn Gabirol's Azharoth.

2. (8–67.) Ein Antiochus-Gedicht, dessen Anfang fehlt. Am Schlusse wird das Jahr 5287 der Welterschöpfung und 1836 der seleuc. Aera genannt, also 1527. Der Dichter nennt sich am Schlusse nicht. Am Anfange scheint nicht viel zu fehlen. Das Auftreten des Königs Antiochus wird in das Jahr 223 nach Esra gesetzt (8 b). Er bekömmt auch den Beinamen דַּעִיּוּס (Decius) und wird weiterhin nur mit diesem Namen bezeichnet. Die Überschriften der Capitel lauten (die des ersten Abschnittes fehlt):

2. Dekianus befragt die Veziere, und Bagris schildert den Zustand Israels. (10 b.)
3. Dekianus vernimmt, dass zwei Veziere getödtet wurden; er wird über Bagris (= Bacchides) zornig, und Bagris marschirt gegen Jerusalem. (22 a.)
4. Mattathias der Hohepriester erfährt vom Heranrücken Bagris', er eifert seine Söhne an; sie ziehen in den Kampf gegen die Ungläubigen und erlangen den Sieg. (30 a.)
5. Bagris flieht und kömmt zum Könige. (37 b.)
6. Dekianus lässt sich durch Bagris täuschen, sammelt ein zahlloses Heer und unzählige Elephanten und marschirt gegen Jerusalem. (42 a.)
7. Ganz Israel versammelt sich, geht nach Jerusalem und reinigt das Heiligthum. Man sucht reines Oel, aber es war nur soviel vorhanden, als für eine Nacht reicht; man zündet es an und es brennt durch ein Wunder acht Nächte und Tage. (55 a.)

Die Dichtung ist in dem gewöhnlichen Metrum der erzählenden Gedichte geschrieben (Reimpaare). Ein näheres Eingehen auf den Inhalt und die Vergleichung mit dem persischen Antiochus-Gedichte des Molla Josef b. Jizchak (Jusuf Jehudi), welches unlängst (1903) in Jerusalem gedruckt wurde (79 Bl.), behalte ich mir vor.

III.

T 64 b (177 b), 64 Bl. kl. 8°.

1. (1-9.) Überschrift: שִׁיר וִיכּוּחַ בְּנֶסֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל עִם דּוּדָה. Nach einer hebräischen Eingangstrophe folgen alphabetisch geordnete Strophen mit persischer Übersetzung nach jeder Strophe. Nach den alphabetischen Strophen (ח hat zwei) folgen noch andere, die im Akrostich den Verfasser (Siman-Tôb, סימן טוב) nennen. Ein Dialog zwischen Gott und Israel, mit messianischem Schlusse. Auch in Jismach Israel abgedruckt (12 a-14 b).

2. (10 a b.) Überschr.: שִׁירָה טוֹבָה וְלוֹלֵב; Akrostich: אֵי מִשָּׁה. Nur hebräisch.

3. (11 a-13 a.) Das oben (unter I, 9) erwähnte Gedicht Israel Nağara's mit derselben pers. Übersetzung.

4. (13 b-14 b.) Ein Gedicht desselben mit dem Refrain: נֹאֲלִי נֹאֲלִי נֹאֲלִי צוּרִי נֹאֲלִי שׁוֹבָה חֲלַצְנִי מִיַּד נֹאֲלִי לְיִשְׂרָאֵל. Nur hebräisch. In Jismach Israel (19 a, N. 8) mit pers. Übersetzung, s. *J. Q. R.*, XIV, 119.

5. (14 b-16 a.) Ein aramäisches Gedicht Siman-Tôb's, welches sich auch in Jismach Israel (p. 42 a) findet.

6. (16 b-17 a.) Ein hebr. Gedicht von Ṣāliḥ (צֶלֶח); auch in Jismach Israel, p. 21.

7. (17 a-19 a.) Nağara's יְהִי רַבֵּן עָלֵינוּ mit pers. Übersetzung. S. auch oben, I, 8.

8. (19 a-21 a.) Desselben Gedicht: לִבִּי וּבִשְׂרִי יִרְכּוּ לְךָ אֵל הָי; mit pers. Übersetzung jeder Strophe.

9. (21 b-23 a.) Desselben: יְרוּסָה וְנִשָּׂא וְנִבָּה מֵאֹד; mit pers. Übersetzung. Auch in Jismach Israel (N. 9, 20 a). Die pers. Übers. dieser Nummer, sowie die von No. 4, s. auch *Z. d. D. M. G.*, LV, 241-257.

10. (23 b-24 a.) Salomo Ibn Gabirol's Trinklied: כִּלְמֵת עֵינִי mit pers. Übers. jeder Strophe, an deren Schluss sich der Übersetzer nennt: Tobija (טוביה קטן).

11. (24 b-25 a.) Hebr. Gedicht von Ṣāliḥ: צוּרֵם עַל כָּל רַמִּים.

12. (25 a–26 a.) Desselben : צור ישעתי ענני יה ענני. Beide Gedichte nur hebräisch.

13. (26 a–27 a.) Nağara's יום ליום אדרה ליי. Nur hebräisch.

14. (27 a–30 a.) Nach den Eingangsversen des oben unter I, 6 erwähnten Gedichtes folgt eine alphabetische Litanei, deren erste Strophe lautet : אדיר לא ינום ברוך לא יישן הנה לא ינום. ולא יישן שומר ישראל. In den weiteren Strophen wird immer das zweite Epitheton der vorhergehenden wiederholt, so dass eine Art Ketten-Litanei entsteht : . . נרול . . ברוך, . . נרול u. s. w. In Jismach Israel (64 a) steht nur der Anfang der Litanei und zwar ebenfalls nach dem unter I, 6 stehenden, aber dort vollständig gegebenen Gedichte.

15. (30 a–32 b.) Persisches Lied, mit Erwähnung der 12 Stämme. Es ist dasselbe Lied für den Ausgang des Sabbath, das in *Z. d. D. M. G.*, LIII, 420 besprochen ist. Der Schluss (4 Strophen) fehlt hier.

16. (33 a–33 b.) Hebr. Gedicht mit dem Akrostich Joseph (יוסף) und dem Strophenendreim יִפְּקֵי. Anfang : ישראל מי כמוך עם. S. unten nach 27.

17. (33 b, 34 b; die Blätter 33 und 34 sind umgekehrt eingeheftet.) Hebr. Purimgedicht mit dem Akrostich Salomo (שלמה). Anfang : שימני ראש על כל איבי וחשמוני.

18. (34 a, 35 a, 35 b.) Hebr. Gedicht mit dem Akrostich ישראל חזק. Den Schluss jeder Strophe bildet eine mit dem Worte צא endigende Bibelstelle. Anfang : ידי רועי מקימי. ממרמס.

19. (35 b–36 a.) Ein kurzes aram. Gedicht (von Nağara) mit dem Akrostich ישראל. Anfang : יהב חכמתה לחכימן. Auch in Jismach Israel, 28 b.

20. (36 a.) Ein kurzes hebr. Gedicht. Anfang : אל דעות סבה ועלה.

21, 22. (43 a b, 37 a; 37 a–39 a.) Die beiden persischen Elija-Gedichte Uzziels, welche in *Z. d. D. M. G.*, LIII, 418 f. besprochen sind. Bl. 43 ist an unrichtiger Stelle eingeheftet.

23. (39 a–41 a.) Nağara's Gedicht : יצא למלך מבית מורים. Akrostich : ישראל בר משה בר לוי. Die versificirte Geschichte Josephs.

24. (41 a-42 b.) Der hebr. Hymnus auf die Stadt Tiberias, von David b. Aharon b. Husein, der auch im Jismach Israel (31 a) abgedruckt ist.

25. (44 a-45 a.) Aramäisches Gedicht mit dem Akrostich ישראל. Anfang: יחזק בחרוא. Einleitender Vers: חצבי לנחרא. דמיא וחצבי כנני לייא.

26. (45 a-46 a.) Hebräisches Weinlied; Akrostich: עקב (jeder Buchstabe zwei Strophen). Eingangsstrophe: דחי מהר חנה יין אשר יאיר כמו עין הוא יוסיף לך חכמה אשר היא נמשלה לין. Sie dient auch zum Refrain. Jede Strophe endet mit dem Worte יין. Dasselbe Lied auch unten, VI, 6.

27. (46 b-47 b.) Persisches Gedicht in 12 kurzen Strophen. Der Anfang lautet: אומד וואד שאה אומד (אומד und אומד = *amad*, ist gekommen). Jede Strophe schliesst mit dem Worte *amad*. Die messianische Endstrophe lautet: אז עשקי עמנאל ראים בנים יא אל אל סר דם קדם נואל נאנם בנתאר אומד.

Das leere Blatt 48 enthält nur den Anfang des oben unter No. 16 erwähnten Gedichtes.

28. (49 b-51 a.) Ein persisches Gedicht mit der Überschrift: מוכמץ, d. i. Muchammas (مُحَمَّد). Es sind fünf Strophen, in der aus den Gedichten Jusuf Jehudi's bekannten Form des Fünfzeilers (s. *Z. d. D. M. G.*, LIII, 391 f.). Auch dieses Gedicht ist von Jusuf Jehudi, der sich in der letzten Strophe nennt.

29. (51 a-52 a.) Ein persisches Ghasel von Jusuf Jehudi. Anfang:

סורח רי שוד מי נזנן נל נופת אז ריבסארי מן
הר כי מי נשד בלשכותי יקינסת יארי מן

30. (52 a-53 a.) Ein persisches Gedicht religiösen Inhaltes. Zehn Strophen mit dem Refrain: יא קירי קדרת נמא, der dem Beginn der ersten Strophe entnommen ist. Die letzte Strophe lautet:

תורנו ובר אונדדי אז בהרי קא אונדדי אז בהרי דארא אונדדי יא
קירי קדרת נמא

31. (54 a-55 a.) Überschrift: מינאקא כרדי בנרנאן קא לתאונרי

לְסִכְּרָא, d. h. Vertrauliche Unterredung der Gottesdiener mit Gott, dem an keinen Ort Gebundenen. (Vgl. oben, I, 5.) Es ist ein Gebet in Zweizeilern, in dem Gottes Gnade angerufen wird, die er um des Verdienstes der Frommen willen gewähren möge. Persisch, stark mit Hebräisch untermengt. Der 3. Zweizeiler lautet: רִלָם רָא שְׂאֵר בֵּן. בְּחָאֵי אֶל חַי כִּי בִי (בחקי) רִיבִי שְׁמַעֲנָן בְּ יוֹחָא. Die Frommen, deren Verdienst der Betende für sich anruft, sind ferner: Daniel, Chananja, Mischael und Azarja; Mattathia (מַתְתִּיָּא); R. Meir, R. Chija; Eldad Hadani (!); Mordechai und Esther; Pinchas b. Jair; Simeon b. Schetach (so geschrieben: שְׁתַּח); Moses b. Amram. Dann wird auch das Verdienst der Thora (בְּחָקִי כֶפֶר תּוֹרָה טַעֲמִים) und der Gebote in Anspruch genommen, das der letzteren in dem Zweizeiler: בְּחָקִי וְכוֹתִי תִרְיָג מִצּוֹת מִדֶּר אֵז חַי וְאֵז רִאשֵׁי תִיבוֹת ("Hilfe von dir und den Anfangsbuchstaben der Wörter," d. h. den aus solchen gebildeten Gottesnamen; der Ausdruck ist wegen des Reimes zu מִצּוֹת gewählt). Nur noch ein Frommer wird genannt, auch des Reimes wegen: נִינְאֵהָם רָא. מַחֲלֵהָ בֵּן סְלִיָּהָ כִּי בְּכוֹתִי רַבִּי יוֹסֵף בֶּן אַחָא. (Ein Jose b. Acha findet sich unter den Tannaiten und Amoräern nicht.) Auf wie niedriger Stufe die Sprachkenntnisse des Verfassers dieses Gebetes standen, zeigt folgender, fast ganz hebräischer Zweizeiler: עֲגַנְיָה בְּכָל שְׁעָה עֲגַנְיָה בְּחָקִי וְכוֹתִי אֶרְבָּעָה: אֵיכָטֵי (er meint: אַרְבַּע אֲמוּתֵינוּ).

32. (56 b–57 a.) Persisches Gedicht religiösen Inhaltes. Jede Strophe schliesst mit den Worten קִיבְּרִנִּי מִשָּׁה. Zum Schluss ist מִשָּׁה punktirt. Eine Strophe hat am Schlusse statt מִשָּׁה die Namen der drei Buchstaben שֵׁן הָא מִשָּׁה. Vielleicht ist Moses auch der Name des Verfassers.

33. (57 b–58 a.) Persisches Gedicht aus vier Strophen. Die erste lautet:

אֵי פִירִי עֶרֶב חַי אֵז נִינְהָ אֲמַדְהִי הֵר תִּרְפֵּי כִי דֵר בְּחִירִי רִיל דְּרִי בְּנֵי
מַעֲלוֹם שְׁוֹד בְּמָא נְרָא אֲמַדְהִי

("O arabischer Greis, woher bist du gekommen? Jedes Wort, das du im inneren Herzen hegest, sage es uns, damit

uns bekannt werde, weshalb du gekommen bist.") Scheint mystischen Inhaltes zu sein.

34. (60 b–62 a, nach einigen leeren Seiten.) Eine hebr. religiöse Dichtung mit dem Akrostich "Samuel b. Nissim." Der Anfang lautet: שוקרי דלתותיך שאלתם ימצאו. Sie steht auch im Jismach Israel (S. 38 b), ebenso wie unten, VII, am Ende.

35. (62 b–64 a.) Samuel b. Nissim's Dichtung: שרי יסקיף. משמי קדשו. S. oben, I, 1; J. Q. R., XIV, 119.

36. (64 a b.) Hebr. Gedicht mit dem Akrostich ישראל. Die Eingangstrophe lautet:

אנא אלך מרוחק אנא מפניך אברה אברה ממך אליך ובצל ירך אניל
אפרח

IV.

B. 18 (3), 94 Bl. kl. 8°. Nur *persische* Poesie enthaltend. Die Blätter sind nicht richtig eingheftet. S. unten, No. 4, 5. Am Schlusse von No. 4 hat der Schreiber — יחזקאל קטן — seinen Namen verewigt.

1. (1–7 a.) Schluss einer grösseren Dichtung in Reimpaaren, paraenetischen Inhaltes. Eines der letzten Distichen (p. 7) zeigt den Namen der Dichtung: "Gang-nâmah" (Schatzbuch):

אין נאמה כה נגנש או כלמסת אורא המה נגן נאמה נאמסת

2. (7 b.) Überschrift: תפסיר עת דודים כלה. Übersetzung des oben unter I, 6 erwähnten Gedichtes. Der Schluss fehlt.

3. (8 a–40 a.) Ein Theil der Dichtung "Königssohn und Sûfi" und zwar die Fortsetzung des in No. 1 (13) enthaltenen Theiles; Schluss der XII. Pforte, XIII. Pforte (8 b), XIV. Pforte (12 a), XV. Pforte (18 b), XVI. Pforte (21 a), XVII. Pforte (34 a).

4. (40 a–42 b, 59, 60, 67–94 a.) Überschrift: שאהין. Dann die weitere Überschrift: נפתאר אנדר משיחא סרון שמואל הנביא. ע"ה שאול רא או בראי פארשאה באמר חק תעאלי. (Erzählung wie Samuel der Prophet Saul auf Befehl Gottes zum Könige

salbt.) Wir haben hier ein Capitel aus dem Werke Schahin's vor uns, in dem er die biblische Geschichte poetisch bearbeitete. Zwei Capitel daraus, und zwar ebenfalls zum Buche Samuel gehörig, hat P. Horn im Jahre 1893 veröffentlicht (*Z.d. D. M. G.*, XLVII, 202 ff.), nach einer Handschrift des British Museum, Or. 2453. Im Verzeichnisse der Capitel-Überschriften (ib., S. 205 f.) findet sich die obige Überschrift nicht. Weitere Theile des Schahin'schen Werkes, aber nicht unmittelbare Fortsetzung dieses Capitels, finden sich auf folgenden Blättern der Handschrift: 59, 60, 67–94 a. Auf S. 73 a beginnt ein Capitel mit der Überschrift: מנאמרה ברוך אבישי בא דאדור אז נהא שאול ובר ראשתן דאדור ניזח וכחז זרין אז (also zu 1 Sam. xxvi. 8 ff. gehörig).

5. (43 a–58 b, 61 a–62 a.) Überschrift: פארסי עקידת יצחק אז. קול כהר"ר מ' בנימין בן המ' מ' מישאל זצ"ל. Also die persische Übersetzung eines Akeda-Gedichtes, von Benjamin b. Mischael. Es ist die Neujahrs-Akeda von Jehuda Samuel Abbas b. Abun (s. Zunz, *Litteraturgesch. der syn. Poesie*, S. 216), die mit den Worten beginnt: עת שערי רצון להפתח. Diese Übersetzung ist mit dem hebr. Originale, nebst einigen liturgischen Beigaben, im J. 1902 in Jerusalem erschienen (ספר עקידת יצחק). In dem Vorworte dieser Ausgabe ist das Jahr 5478 (1718) als Entstehungsjahr der Übersetzung genannt und angegeben, der Übersetzer, den man auch Amina (אמינא=עמינה)¹ nannte, habe zu den Leuten von Iran (אן מדינת עיראן) gehört, also im Königreiche Persien gelebt. Unsere Handschrift giebt nur die Anfangsworte der hebr. Strophen vor jedem Absatze an. Wie frei und weitläufig die pers. Bearbeitung des Gedichtes ist, zeigt die Thatsache, dass z. B. den vier Versen der Eingangsstrophe 17 persische Reimpaare, den sechs Versen der ersten Strophe 26 Reimpaare entsprechen. Am Schlusse (zwischen No. 61 und 62) fehlt ein Blatt der Übersetzung. S. auch unten, VI, 14.

6. (62 a–66 b.) Überschrift: תפסיר אמ אפס אז מערפת הח'.

¹ Im Jahre 5462 (1702) vollendete Molla Amina (אמינא) eine Abschrift des Schahin (s. *J. Q. R.*, XV, 289).

השלם כמ"הר מ' בנימין נ"ע בכ"הר א' אליהו מעיר כאשאן. Es ist also die Übersetzung der Akeda Ephraim b. Isaak's (s. Zunz, S. 288) von Benjamin b. Elija aus Kaschan. Eine andere, kürzere Übersetzung dieser Akeda ist im Jismach Israel zu finden (36 b), doch ist der Name des Übersetzers nicht genannt. (S. J. Q. R., XIV, 119.) Hier ist nur die Bearbeitung der ersten neun Strophen erhalten, das Übrige (ebenfalls neun Strophen) fehlt.

7. (94 b.) Überschrift: מסכת אבות. Dann als Überschrift des ersten Capitels: דר סבב נאם כחאב ניר. Nur 6½ Reimpaare stehen auf diesem letzten Blatte der Handschrift. Das Übrige fehlt. Es ist offenbar die metrische Bearbeitung des Aboth-Tractates, von Molla Imran, von dem sich ebenfalls nur der Anfang, aber ein grösseres Stück, in einem Codex des British Museum (Or. 4742) findet. S. J. Q. R., XV, 290.

V.

T. 40 (484), 55 Bl. schmal 8°. Der Anfang fehlt.

1. (1 a-2 a.) Persisches Gedicht über die Symbolik der Buchstaben des Alphabetes, von denen mehrere zusammen in je einer Strophe behandelt sind. Die Strophen über die ersten fünf Buchstaben fehlen. Von Bl. 1 ist eine Hälfte abgerissen, so dass auch die erhaltenen Strophen nur mangelhaft vorhanden sind. Den Schluss (wohl dem Buchstaben ך entsprechend) bildet der mit חתן beginnende Schlussvers des Buches Micha.

2. (2 a-6 a.) Überschrift: אבן ניסא ניר. Ein Liebesgedicht in langen Strophen von kurzen Versen. Der Dichter, Ibn Gisa, nennt sich auch in der letzten Strophe.

3. (6 a-9 a.) Überschrift: נפתח רחים המראני. Ein Liebesgedicht in Kasidenform. Der Dichter, Rahim, nennt sich am Schlusse.

Weder Ibn Gisa, noch Rahim Hamadani (vgl. unten, IX, 7) ist bei Ethé ("Neupersische Litteratur," im *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*) genannt. Es waren aber offenbar nichtjüdische Dichter.

4. (9 a-11 b.) Überschrift: קצה סגן חראשי בא פֿרמאר (Erzählung vom Steinhauer). Erzählendes Gedicht in Reimpaaren. Es beginnt mit den Worten: "Es war ein Steinhauer am Berge Sinai, der haute Steine und sprach: O Sündenvergeber, wie lang wirst du im Himmel sein, wie lange wirst du vor unserem Auge verborgen sein? Es wäre schön, wenn du auf die Erde kämest, zu uns kämest, o Gott der Welten!" Mit Worten frommer Einfalt verspricht der Steinhauer, Gott ein Steinhaus zu bauen, es wohnlich zu machen und sich selbst ganz in den Dienst Gottes zu stellen, wenn er auf Erden wohnen wolle. Er führt sein Versprechen aus, haut vierzig Tage und vierzig Nächte Steine, um das Haus zu bauen. Als das Haus fertig und mit Allem ausgestattet war, wendete sich der Steinhauer wieder mit einfältigen Worten und naiven Versprechungen an Gott, um ihn zu bestimmen, auf die Erde zu kommen. Da ging gerade Moses vorüber und hörte die Worte des Steinhauers, die er für grobe Blasphemie hält. Er weist den Steinhauer mit harten Worten zurecht und heisst ihn seine Reden bereuen. Als aber Moses wieder auf den Berg Sinai kam, wurde er von Gott darüber getadelt, dass er den Steinhauer zum Schweigen gebracht; denn jedes seiner Worte sei ihm als Ausdruck frommer Hingebung anzurechnen. Moses kehrt zurück und beruhigt den vorher Zurechtgewiesenen; er möge auch weiter sich mit solchen Reden an Gott wenden, da Gott an ihnen Gefallen finde. Im Schlussverse nennt sich Attar als Dichter; die Erzählung stammt also aus einem Werke Ferid-eddin Attars. Vgl. unten, No. 8.

5. (11 b-16 b.) Überschrift: דר באב אגן דניארא ופֿא ניסח ("Darüber, dass auf die Welt kein Verlass ist"). Ein Lehrgedicht in kurzen vierzeiligen Strophen, in denen die vierte Zeile stets lautet: דוויא ופֿא נרארד. In den ersten Strophen ist dieser Refrain noch in einer fünften Zeile variirt oder einfach wiederholt. In der letzten Strophe nennt sich der Dichter: Joseph Ibn Siman (יוסף אבן סימאן). S. auch unten, IX, 4.

6. (16 b–19 b.) Überschrift: דוד באב פנדיאט ניד. Didaktische Sprüche, Vierzeiler. Im letzten nennt sich der Dichter: Joseph Ibn Siman.

7. (19 b–25 b.) Überschrift: שירה על פסח. Geschichte der Befreiung aus Aegypten in vierzeiligen Strophen, deren durchgehender Endreim sowohl durch hebräische (ישראל), als persische (רל) Wörter gebildet wird. Nach jeder Strophe steht das Wort מִימֵיאל, ohne Zweifel das erste Wort des Refrains: מִי אל מִי אל יתברך ישראל, der in einem Simchath-Thora-Liede in Buchara und Jemen vorkommt. (S. J. Q. R., XIV, 122.)

8. (25 b–30 a.) Überschrift: קצה סלמאן גמגמה הסת ("Erzählung vom König Schädel"). Erzählung in Reimpaaren. Moses findet am Ufer des Tigris einen Schädel. Gott gewährt ihm die Bitte, dass ihm der Schädel erzähle, wem er im Leben angehörte. Er war im Leben ein mächtiger König Aegyptens, mit Namen Ġumġuma (Schädel). Auf weitere Fragen Moses' erzählte er von seinem Tode, seiner Beerdigung und seinem Schicksale nach dem Tode. Moses bittet Gott, er möge den Todten ins Leben erwecken. Ġumġuma wird lebendig und nimmt den Glauben Moses' an; er wird ein frommer Gottesdiener und scheidet später als Gläubiger aus der Welt.—Die Erzählung ist jüngst im I. Bande der von Simeon Chacham besorgten Ausgabe des Schahin zur Genesis abgedruckt worden, um die letzten drei Seiten des Bandes zu füllen. Doch stehen am Ende des Gedichtes noch drei Distichen, die auch den Namen des Dichters, Aṭṭar, darbieten (s. No. 4). Auch in der unten—VI, 8—erwähnten Abschrift des Gedichtes fehlen die letzten drei Distichen.

9. (30 b–55 a.) Überschrift: אנוא קצה פארשאה והפת חיראן או ניד ("Beginn der Erzählung vom Könige und seinen sieben Vesieren"). Nach der Überschrift sind zwei Seiten leer (30 b, 31 a), es fehlt also der Beginn der Einleitung, welche S. 34 a schliesst. In dem vorletzten Zweizeiler der Einleitung nennt sich der Dichter Jahja (יהיא). Der Beginn der Erzählung hat die Überschrift: אנוא חכאית פרמאיד זע"ל,

womit der Abschreiber den Dichter als verstorben kennzeichnet.— Es ist die Erzählung von den Sieben weisen Meistern (Sindbad) in Reimpaaren. Der Schluss fehlt. Das letzte der erhaltenen Capitel hat die Überschrift: "Zweite Erzählung des vierten Vesiers." Jahja war offenbar Jude. Über die jüdischen Bearbeitungen des berühmten Erzählungsstoffes s. Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, S. 887 ff.; über die persischen Nöldeke in *Z. d. D. M. G.*, XLV, 97 ff.; Ethé im *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, II, 258, 261.

VI

No. 341, 166 Bl. kl 8°.

1. (1 b.) Schluss (4 Strophen) des unter No. 27 zu erwähnenden Pijjut. Die letzte Strophe lautet: וכות משה אשר עלה לפני רב העלילה יבנה בית התפילה בימי שנים קדמונים. Nach jeder Strophe ist der Refrain mit ירושת נחלה angegeben. Das Blatt gehört eigentlich nach Bl. 156.

2. (2 a–26 a.) Die Geschichte der "Sieben Brüder" von Jusuf Jehudi (s. *Z. d. D. M. G.*, LIII, 394 f.). Der Anfang fehlt.

3. (26 b–51 b.) Überschrift: אין מנוח הסת או אחואל כראבי בית המקדש ונלות ישראלן או לפתח מ' אהרן גרפאדגאני ו"ל ("Sammlung über die Begebenheiten der Zerstörung des Heiligthumes und der Verbannung der Israeliten, von Aharon Gurpâdegani"). Der Verfasser hat dieselbe Herkunftsbezeichnung, wie der oben (I, 4) erwähnte Molla Nathan. Nach einer kurzen prosaischen Einleitung folgt (27 a) die Überschrift: אמנו מרתאיה עשרה הרוגי המלכות. Die Zehn Märtyrer bilden das Hauptthema des Werkes, in welchem die poetische Darstellung (in Reimpaaren) öfters durch Prosaerzählung unterbrochen wird. Den meisten Raum nehmen die Todtenklagen über die einzelnen Märtyrer ein. Der Schluss fehlt. Das letzte erhaltene Capitel hat zur Überschrift: מיה נפתח רבי יהודה בן בבא נהח רבי יהודה: בן חכינאי (49 a). Nach der 7. Strophe bricht das Capitel

ab, S. 49 b ist leer gelassen, aber mit Wiederholung des bereits geschriebenen Anfanges steht das Capitel auf den Blättern 50, 51; jedoch der Schluss sowie das den Märtyrertod Jehuda b. Baba's enthaltende Capitel fehlt.

4. (52 a-57 a.) Überschrift: קריבי נאמה או נפתה מ' יוסף [בן]. מ' סימן זרנארי זצ"ל ניר. Der Dichter Joseph b. Siman, hier noch als *Zargāri* (Goldschmied) bezeichnet, war schon oben genannt (V, 5-6). Das Gedicht heisst "Karibi-Nāmah," weil jede seiner Strophen (Vierzeiler) mit dem Worte קריבי beginnt; mit diesem ("Naher," "Verwandter") ist in vertrauter Hingebung Gott angedredet. Die Strophen, deren Inhalt elegische Betrachtungen und Klagen sind, haben alphabetische Anordnung. Den Anfang machen vier Strophen, deren erster Buchstabe (nach dem einleitenden קריבי) א ist, ב hat 4, ג hat 5, ד 2, ה 2, ו 2, ז 4, ח 2, ט 2, י 2, יא 11, ל 2, מ 6, נ 1, ס 3, ע 2, פ 4 Strophen. Die übrigen Buchstaben fehlen.

Die Blätter 58 und 59 sind leer geblieben; nachträglich wurden auf 59 a, b hebräische Notizen, welche sich auf die Eheschliessung beziehen, geschrieben, auch eine längere Erläuterung zu Gen. xxiv. 50.

5. (60 a-67 a.) Überschrift: תפסיר מנילה או נפתה בה"ר מ' בנימן זצ"ל. Eine poetische Darstellung des Inhaltes von Esther in Zweizeilern. Über einen Dichter Benjamin a. *Z. d. D. M. G.*, LIII, 420. Jedoch ist unter Benjamin, dem Verfasser dieses persischen "Tafsir" zu Esther, Benjamin b. Mischael zu verstehen; denn er nennt sich am Schlusse selbst mit seinem Dichternamen Amina (אמינה), s. oben, IV, 5. Diese metrische Bearbeitung des Estherbuches gehört zu den bei Steinschneider, *Monatsschrift*, 47. Jahrg., S. 178, No. 22, genannten.

6. (67 b.) Überschrift: שירה סימן יעקב. Das hebräische Weinlied, das bereits unter III, 26 erwähnt war, mit Varianten.

7. (68 a-69 a.) Überschrift: שבת נאמה ניפתה מ' יוסף. זרנארי. "Sabbath-Buch" von dem unter No. 4 genannten Dichter Joseph b. Siman. Vierzeilige Strophen, deren jede

mit den Worten רח שבת ("Tag des Sabbath") beginnt und mit der Verszeile רח שבת ביה ואי ניסת ("es giebt nichts besseres als der Sabbathtag") endet.

8. (70 a–72 a.) קנה סולמאן נומנמה. Dasselbe wie V, 8.

9. (72 b–79 b.) Drei Capital aus Babai's historischen Gedichten über Ereignisse aus der Zeit des Schah Abbas I. Sie behandeln die Bemühungen Abulhasan Lari's, den persischen Juden eine Mütze als Abzeichen aufzuzwingen, und den Tod Lari's. Das Ganze habe ich in *Revue des Études Juives*, Bd. XLVII, S. 262–282, herausgegeben und übersetzt.

10. (80 a, b.) Überschrift: ומירות לשמחת תורה. Vier hebräische Lieder zum Feste der Thorafreude, und zwar: Zwei alphabetische Litaneien, von denen die eine nach dem Schema יסמחו נא אהובים die Epitheta Israels, die andere nach dem Schema יום אהבה לישראל die Güter aufzählt, welche dieses Fest darbietet. Dann folgt ein Gedicht mit dem Akrostichon שלמה חזק und dem Refrain אשריכם ואשרי כל ישראל. Dann noch zwei Strophen, deren jede mit dem Verse schliesst: מצה כבלי עניי.

11. (81 a.) Überschrift: (sic) שירה לחנניא הצאיר. Dann folgt noch die Überschrift und die erste Zeile des hebr. Gedichtes. Dieses selbst ist weiter unten (Nr. 32) nachgetragen.

12. (81 b–83 b, 84 b.) Ohne Überschrift. Abergläubische Recepte, sympathetische Mittel. Hebräisch.

13. (84 a.) Hebräisches Gedicht mit dem Refrain: ברכי. שאמר חיה העולם. Akrostich: יוסף. Der Anfang lautet: יסד בסודו בורא לבנין צוה למעמדו על מי מעין.

14. (85 a–91 b.) Commentar in persischer Sprache zu der oben (IV, 5) erwähnten Dichtung ירחק עקירת.

15. (92 b.) Sieben hebräische Räthsel in Versen. Das zweite (über מנחם) lautet:

ראיתי שני אחיות	אחד (sic) בעולה ואחד (sic) בתולה
בא נח ושכב ביניהם	ויצא מהם מנחם

16. (93 b–94 b.) Überschrift: עליית משה למרום. Himmelfahrt Moses'. Hebräische Prosa. Anfang: כתמוה בעצי העץ

... כן דודי בן הבנים זה משה רבנו עליו השלום בשעה שעלה . . . שאל מרעה למטם אמר ליה מה אלו [אל] אלו המלאכים הנקראים עירין קרישין.

17. (95 a–136 b.) Überschrift: תרנום שני. Das "Targum Scheni" zu Esther mit kurzem "Biur" in hebr. Sprache. Es ist derselbe kurze Commentar, der auch in der Wiener Pentateuch-Ausgabe (1859) dem Targum Scheni beigegeben ist.

18. (137 a, b.) Das unter No. 13 stehende hebr. Gedicht in arger Entstellung der Orthographie (z. B. חסק=חֶסֶד, צָהָ=סִיחָ, חֶסֶק=חֶסֶד). Dann folgt eine hebräische Strophe (Anfang: יושב שמי) und eine persische Strophe; vielleicht Anfang eines anderen Gedichtes desselben Joseph mit Übersetzung (das folgende Blatt, 138, ist leer).

19. (139 a–142 b.) Überschrift: תפסיר הפתרח (sic) של שבעות. Eine hebräische Introduction zu Ezech. i. 1, ausgehend von dem in 2 Kön. xxii. 8 Erzählten, worauf sich "das dreissigste Jahr" nach dem Targum zu Ezech. i. 1 bezieht. Es ist das die hebräische Wiedergabe eines längeren Targumzusatzes zu diesem Verse. Das aramäische Original ist erst unlängst aus einem im Nachlasse David Kaufmann's befindlichen Genizafragment jemenischen Ursprunges (es hat obere Punktation) herausgegeben worden, und zwar durch Max Weiss in der *Magyar-Zsidó-Szemle*, XX, 349 ff.

20. (143 a, b.) Überschrift: תפסיר עוד היום בנוב. Eine persische Introduction zu Jes. x. 32 (der Haphtara des 8. Pesachtages). Sie beruht auf dem Targumzusatz zu dieser Stelle (s. z. d. D. M. G., XXVIII, 19).

21. (144 a–147 b.) Ohne Überschrift. Mit Zugrundelegung der Bibelstelle 2 Sam. xxi. 15–17 wird die Legende über die Rettung David's durch Abischai erzählt (hebräisch). Diese auf Sanhedrin, 95 a beruhende Legende bildet auch einen Hauptbestandtheil der von Rachamim b. Elija edirten persischen Homilie zu Jes. x. 32 (s. *Zeitschrift für hebr. Bibliographie*, IV, 182 f., *Z. d. D. M. G.*, LIV, 241). Unsere Nummer hängt also mit der vorhergehenden zusammen.

22. (149 b.) Ohne Überschrift. Ein alphabetisches

hebräisches Gedicht zu Ps. lxxiii. Anfang: אסף בורש שלו' חיקן ארמון יחזו בנבואת יחזקאל. שיר על יד יקותיאל. Schluss: או. שיר מזמור לאסף אך טוב לישראל. Der durchgehende Reim ist אל.

23. Die Blätter 150, 151, 152 a (ebenso wie 148, 149 a) sind leer. Auf S. 150 b probirte der Schreiber das Schreibrohr mit den Worten: אנטה הקולמוס; auf S. 151 a, und dann nochmal 151 b, schrieb er die ersten Strophen des Wettstreites zwischen Wasser und Wein (beginnend: בין מים ויין ריב אין כמוהו זה אומר אני הוא זה אומר אני הוא), mit der Überschrift: שירה לר' יהודה זצ"ל. Vgl. unten, Nr. 32.

24. (152 b–153 a.) Überschrift: נפתחי באבאי ל'כף, also ein Gedicht des oben (Nr. 9) genannten Dichters Babai (Lutuf). Es ist ein Elija-Lied (s. *Z. d. D. M. G.*, LIII, 417); 14 vierzeilige Strophen, deren jede mit dem Verse schliesst: יא אליא רסתם בניר ("o Elija, ergreife mir die Hand"—stehe mir bei).

25. (153 b–154 b.) Ohne Überschrift. Ein Gedicht aus 40 Strophen, als dessen Verfasser sich zum Schlusse Chizkija nennt. Eine höchst merkwürdige Klage der zur Annahme des Islam gezwungenen Juden (unter Schah Abbas I), zu denen der Dichter selbst gehörte. Er sei, so sagt er nach Nennung seines Namens, jetzt ein Götzen-Scheich (שיך אלמסנא). Das Gedicht hat einige sehr ergreifende Strophen und gewährt einen tiefen Einblick in den Seelenzustand der unter dem Glaubenszwange lebenden Juden Persiens, die man, wie es an einer Stelle heisst, die Neugläubigen (נומדין) nenne. Das Stück, das den Werth eines historischen Documentes hat, wird im 48. Bande der *R. d. É. J.* mit Übersetzung erscheinen. In dem vorliegenden Manuscripte ist es noch ein zweites Mal zu finden: 163 a–164 a (No. 33), jedoch fehlen dort die letzten zehn Strophen. Dort lautet die Überschrift: אונס מ' חזקיה. Wahrscheinlich ist אונס = אונס, der zum Übertritt Gezwungene (אונסים hiessen auch die Marrannos). Am Schluss von Nr. 25 fügte der Schreiber folgende Sätze hinzu: כת נוסם כת ביסאנר רחמנא מן אגר נסמנר כת במאנר: יארנאר ("Ich schreibe die Schrift, die Schrift verbleibt;

wenn mein Dasein nicht bleibt, so bleibt die Schrift als Andenken").

26. (155 a.) Überschrift: שירה חתן. Ein persisches Gedicht in vierzeiligen Strophen, deren Anfänge die Buchstaben des Alphabets zeigen. Doch reichen die Strophen nur bis ח, das Übrige fehlt (S. 155 b und 156 a sind unbeschrieben).

27. (156 b.) Überschrift: שירה למילה. Hebräisches Lied zur Beschneidungsfeier. Anfangstrophe: מבורך שם הנעלה. ברוב חסד ובחמלה. צוה לנו מצות מילה. על יד אב המותם. Dann folgt als zweite Strophe, die auch nach jeder Strophe als Refrain angegeben ist: ירשח נחלה בשם טוב ונרולה בברכת מילה: אמן עונים. Die Schlussstrophen sind die oben, unter No. 1, erwähnten. Das Ganze zeigt das Akrostich בן משה (= רבי) יוסף. Wahrscheinlich Moses b. Joseph Halevi, Verfasser des unter No. 29 zu erwähnenden Gedichtes.

28. (157 a.) An der Spitze der Seite steht eine Vorbemerkung des Schreibers: אני הצעיר יעקב בר מ' חנניא כתבתי את. הכפר הזה כל הנוגב ארור אמן נסח (sic) סלה. Dann folgt die Überschrift: אא נפתחי מ' נישן וצל. Vom persischen Gedicht selbst, als dessen Autor Gerschom genannt wird, ist nur die erste Strophe zu lesen; aber auf S. 158 a ist das Ganze noch einmal angefangen, jedoch in der Mitte abgebrochen. Der Inhalt des Stückes ist dem Inhalte von V, 1 ähnlich: Symbolik der Buchstaben; sie reicht hier bis zum Daleth. Auf S. 157 b hat sich Jemand mit folgenden Worten verewigt: אני הכותב הצעיר משה בכמה'רר רפאל יצחק ממספחות מנשה: בן יוסף בן יעקב בן יצחק בן אברהם אע"ה. Dieser Moses b. Raphael Jizchak führte also seine Herkunft auf den Stamm Manasseh zurück.

29. (158 b–159 b.) Überschrift: שירה לר' משה בן יוסף חלוי וצל. Es ist ein hebräischer Hochzeitsgesang. Die Eingangstrophe, die nach jeder Strophe wiederholt ist, lautet: ברוך אתה בבואך ברוך אתה בצאתך ישלח עורך מקדש ומצוין יסעוד. Die Strophenanfänge zeigen das Akrostichon: משה בן (אמר). Eine Strophe lautet: קום חתן קרא חורו. כי יוסף הל(ק)וי (לה). היא חכמה מפוארה. צביית חן ברוב זורה. ולוית חן בראשך. Das Lied wurde also beim Aufrufen des Bräutigams zur Thora

gesungen. Vielleicht ist Moses b. Joseph Halevi kein anderer als der bei Zunz, *Litt. d. syn. Poesie*, S. 346 f. genannte Moses b. Joseph (13. Jahrh.), von dem Zunz ein Gedicht ähnlichen Inhaltes anführt.

30. (160 a.) Überschrift: שירה לר' משה ז"ל. Ein Hochzeitslied. Der Anfang lautet: מאוד ישמח בחופתי. Refrain: קול ששן וקול שמחה קול חתן וקול כלה.

31. (160 b.) Überschrift: שירה לר' מנחם ז"ל. Vom Gedicht selbst (einem Hochzeitsliede) ist nur die erste Strophe da: אמת אתה חתנינו. כמו סחר (סחר l.) בחוכנו. כמלך לפנינו. יברכך אלהינו.

32. (161 b–162 b.) Überschrift: שירה. Es ist das hebräische Gedicht, dessen Überschrift und Anfang schon oben standen (No. 11). Die ersten zwei Verse bieten die Inhaltsangabe: בין שבת ומועד מלחמה ערוכה. זה אומר ככה זה אומר ככה. Es ist ein Wettstreit zwischen dem Sabbath und den Festtagen (Pesach, Neumond, Schabuoth, Jom Kippur, Sukkoth) über ihre Bedeutung. Den Streit entscheidet eine Stimme von oben: חנה ממרום קול קורא באזני. למה יריבו מועדי חמני. כי כולם: קדושים ובתוכם יי'. אשריכם ואשרי העם שלו ככה. זה אומר ככה זה אומר ככה. — Der in No. 11 genannte Dichter Chananja Ha-Zair hat denselben Namen wie der Vater des Schreibers (No. 28). Das Gedicht hat ähnlichen Charakter, wie das oben unter No. 23 stehende.

33. (163 a–164 a.) S. oben, No. 25.

34. (166 a.) Mehrere hebräische Gedichte.

VII.

B 38 (181), 143 Bl., lang und schmal 8°, in schöner kalligraphischer Ausstattung mit Randleisten auf jeder Seite. Der Anfang fehlt, und zwar fehlen, wie die ursprüngliche Pagination des Buches zeigt, 7 Blätter. Der Inhalt ist am Schlusse (141 a) mit folgenden Worten des Schreibers angegeben: תמאם לך אן דסתר שירהא בא תפסיר ופרק אבות בא תפסירש אן נפתחי הס' כ"מה"ר סימן טוב ואזהרות אן נפתחי כ"מה"ר שלמה ותפסירש אן נפתחי כ"מה"ר שמואל אן נחת עזיזי אור עיני שאל בן

כ"א גאני משה יצ"ו דר רח דו שבת נהם מאה סין דר סאל הת"קסו ליצירה
 על יד הכותב הצעיר והועיר עפ"ר רגלי כל הסופרים מנשה בן ה"מ א"א שלמה
 מ' אלעזר לקב גאני כשמירי נוינר י"ד מבארך באר בר סאחב כתאב אב"ר.
 Das Buch ist also am Montag, dem 9. Siwan des Jahres
 5566 (= 1806) durch den Schreiber Manasse b. Salomo b.
 Eleazar, den man auch Gāni Kaschmiri nannte, beendet
 worden. Es ist das derselbe, von dem eine im J. 1804
 verfasste Übersetzung eines Nağara'schen Gedichtes in
 "Jismach Israel" abgedruckt ist (s. J. Q. R., XIV, 124).
 Er verfertigte die Handschrift für seinen Freund Saul b.
 Gāni Moses. Es enthält, wie angegeben ist: A., eine
 Sammlung hebr. Gedichte [zum Theile] mit pers. Über-
 setzung; B., Aboth mit pers. Übersetzung von Molla
 Simantob; C., die Azharoth Salomo Ibn Gabirols mit der
 pers. Übersetzung von R. Samuel.

A.

Dieser erste Theil der Handschrift ist nicht vollständig;
 denn ausser den bereits erwähnten ersten sieben Blättern
 fehlen noch — wie aus der ursprünglichen Pagination er-
 sichtlich — zwei Blätter zwischen Bl. 12 und 13, vier
 Blätter zwischen Bl. 28 und 29, im Ganzen 13 Blätter.
 Die hier gesammelten hebräischen Gedichte sind theils
 in Begleitung einer persischen Übersetzung, theils ohne
 solche gegeben. Von *einer persischen Übersetzung*, und
 zwar nach jeder Strophe, begleitet sind folgende Gedichte:

1. (1 a–2 a.) Der Anfang fehlt. Vom Akrostich ist noch
 סימן טוב חזק [ס] vorhanden, so dass also nur die erste Strophe
 (b) fehlt. Die Übersetzung stammt ohne Zweifel ebenfalls
 von dem bereits mehrfach erwähnten Dichter Siman-Töb.
 Auch die Sammlung Jismach Israel (12 a) enthält ein
 hebr. Gedicht Siman-Töb's mit seiner eigenen persischen
 Übersetzung.

2. (3 b–5 a.) סימן דודי מתי מתי. Akr. סימן טוב חזק. Die
 Übersetzung stammt gewiss auch vom Dichter selbst. Das
 Ganze auch in Jismach Israel (60 b).

3. (6 a–8 b.) Israel Nağara's (No. 1 des Diwan): אומר אלֹהֵי: כל יְיָוִיִּים. Die persische Übersetzung ist vielleicht von Siman-Tôb. Die Übers. allein steht in Jismach Israel (64 b).

4. (8 b–9 b.) Nağara's: יְרוּם וְנִשָּׂא וְנִבְה מְאֹד. Auch in Jismach Israel (20 a).

5. (10 a, b.) Nağara's: יוֹשֵׁב בְּרוֹם שְׁמִי וְזוּל (einleitender Vers und Refrain: יָחִיד וְאֵין בְּלֹתוֹ אַחֵר · אֶל בְּשִׁירֵי זִמְרָה בּוֹחֵר).

6. (11 a, b.) Salomon Ibn Gabirol's Trinklied, wie unter III, 10.

7. (12 a, b.) Nağara's: נוֹרִי יוֹנָה נוֹרִי נוֹרִי. Der Schluss fehlt.

8. (13 a–14 a.) Nağara's: נוֹאֲלִי נוֹאֲלִי צוּרִי נוֹאֲלִי. S. oben, III, 4.

9. (16 a–17 b.) Nağara's: רַחֲמֵי וּבִשְׂרֵי וּמִצֵּי.

10. (18 a–19 a.) Nağara's: יוֹם וּלֵיל רוּחֵי תוֹרָה בְּרִנָּנָה.

11. (26 a–27 a.) Nağara's: יְהִי רַבּוֹן עֹלָם. S. oben, I, 8.

Nur *hebräisch* (oder *aramäisch*), ohne Übersetzung, sind folgende Gedichte in der Sammlung enthalten:

Von Israel Nağara:

12. (14 a, b.) יוֹם לְיוֹם אֹדָה שְׁמֵךְ. (S. III, 13.)

13. (15 a, b.) יְהִי אֵימַת חֵלֶשׁ תָּן.

14. (15 b–16 a.) יְהִי אֶל צוּרֵי רֶפָא צִירֵי.

15. (17 b–18 a.) יוֹשֵׁב שְׁמִי שֹׁחַק בְּנֵה חֲצֵרוֹתֵי.

16. (33 b–34 a.) יוֹנָתִי זִו יַפְעֶתֶךָ.

17. (34 a–35.) יָדֶךָ גָּלָה דוֹר מַחֲמֵד עֵינִי.

18. (36 b–37 b.) יֵצֵא לְמֶלֶךְ מִבֵּית סוֹרִים.

19. (38 a–39 a.) יוֹדוּ שְׁמֶךָ גְּדוֹל וְנוֹרָא קְדוֹשׁ וְנֹאדָר. (S. I, 7.)

20. (39 a, b.) יָחִיד כּוֹכְבוֹ בְּקֶר יַפְעָחוּ רִנָּה.

21. (39 b–40 b.) יִמִּי חֲרָפִי אֶהְבֵּתִי.

Von anderen Dichtern:

22. (3 b–5 a.) Das auch in Jismach Israel (42 a) stehende aramäische Gedicht von Siman-Tôb.

23. (5 a–6 a.) Desselben: צְהִלִי קוֹלְךָ בַּת גָּלִים.

24. (21 a–22 a.) Von demselben: ein auch einige aramäische Strophen enthaltendes Lied zur Beschneidungsfeier, mit folgender Überschrift: שִׁירָה לְשִׁמְחַת הַמִּילָה וְהוּא

Drei Gedichte sind *rein persisch*.

34. (28 b.) Fünf Distichen. Der Schluss des Gedichtes fehlt, da nach 28 die oben erwähnte Lücke von vier Blättern sich findet. Das erste Distich, der Anfang des Ghaseles, lautet:

נרסר באנו עמאן שמע שבסתאן תורא • נח חד באר כואן ברנ גלסתאן
תורא •

35. (29 a–30 a.) Elf Strophen. Die erste, zugleich Refrain, lautet:

כוש אנכה בעהר דוסת • מרר באשר ומרדאנה • סר באור ונאש הם •
אנדר רה נאנאנה

36. (30 a–31 a.) Vierzehn Strophen. Die erste, zugleich Refrain, lautet:

ונדה דל • כוש אב נל צופיאן אנד צופיאן • מורדה נפס • תאסידה חרץ •
צופיאן אנד צופיאן

Mit den Worten צופיאן אנד צופיאן schliesst auch jede Strophe.

Ein Gedicht Israel Nağara's ist mit *türkischer* Übersetzung dargeboten:

37. (23 b–26 a.) (Diwan, No. 169). Die Übersetzung schliesst sich im Metrum genau dem Reimschema des Originals an.

38. (20 a.) Endlich ist ein Gedicht, dessen vier Strophen den Namen des Dichters im Akrostich zeigen (שבתי, Sabbathai), aus abwechselnd hebräischen und türkischen Versen gebildet.

39. Am Schlusse der Sammlung steht ein kurzes persisches Gedicht, das mit den Worten beginnt: אי ראה בר • כלל מרא ראה נמא.

punktirt: הַחֲתָךְ קִטְוִי שִׁישׁוּ. Str. IV, Z. 4, das letzte Wort ist so punktirt: חֲתָךְ (?). In Str. VI, Z. 1 lautet das erste Wort בְּחֻץ (?). Die 4. Zeile derselben Strophe lautet: וְעֵלֶךְ בְּחֻץ חֲתָכִי. Str. VIII, Z. 3: der Name des Dichters ist יהודא geschrieben.

B.

Der Mischnatraktat *Aboth* hat die sonderbare — von einer spätern Hand herrührende — Überschrift: **תנא האלקי** פרק אבות ע"ה. Wer das schrieb, hielt **פרק אבות** für den Namen eines Tannaiten. Es ist übrigens dieselbe Übersetzung von *Aboth*, welche im Jahre 1902 in Jerusalem erschienen und von mir in der *Zeitschr. f. hebr. Bibliographie*, VI, 112 ff., 150 besprochen ist. Der Text und die hebr. Worte innerhalb der Übersetzung sind punktirt. Das Ganze nimmt die Seiten 41 a–96 a der Handschrift ein. Von Bl. 67 (= 80) der ursprünglichen Pagination fehlt der grössere Theil, ebenso von Bl. 75 (88). Die Übersetzung stammt, wie die oben erwähnte Nachschrift bezeugt, vom Dichter *Siman-Tôb*.

C.

Die *Azharoth Salomo Ibn Gabirol's* (96 b–141 a) mit strophenweise gegebener persischer Übersetzung. Statt der Überschrift (**רשום לאזהרות**) geht dem einleitenden Gedichte *David b. Eleazar Pakuda's* (**אמן יום זה**) der Bibelvers *Exod. xix. 1* (Anfang der Thoraperikope des Wochenfestes) voraus. Als Übersetzer desselben nennt sich (99 b) am Schlusse *Elischa*, vielleicht der *Molla Elischa*, den wir als Mitglied des Dichterkreises von *Bochara* kennen (*Z. d. D. M. G.*, LIII, 345). Dann folgt die Überschrift der persischen Bearbeitung des *Gabirol'schen* Gedichtes: **כתאב אחתראז נאמה תפסיר שמור לבי אז מערפת כה"ר שמואל ב"ר חמ' מולא פיר אחמד זצ"ל**. Dem Gedicht geht eine persische Einleitung in Prosa voraus (100 a–101 b). Am Schlusse des die Gebote betreffenden und mit **לבי שמור** beginnenden Theiles (102 a–115 b) nennt der Übersetzer seinen Namen (**שמואל**). Der zweite Theil (115 b–141 a), über die Verbote, hat eine besondere Überschrift: **פ"י תפסיר בעל שדי פ"רמאיד**. **כה אוסת מצות לא תעשה**. Der Übersetzer nennt sich hier nicht, ist aber offenbar derselbe, wie beim ersten Theile,

wie auch die oben gebrachte Nachschrift des Abschreibers Manasseh ausdrücklich bezeugt.

Auf die leer gebliebenen Seiten der Handschrift sind von späteren Händen folgende hebräische Gedichte geschrieben: Das Sabbathlied mit dem Akrostich חוקה (141 b), welches auch in Jismach Israel aufgenommen ist. Hier hat es die Überschrift: חוקה (sic) בקשות.— Das bekannte Sabbathlied זור ששלו מכלנו (142 a), ohne die in Jismach Israel (46 b) sich findende Erweiterung (s. J. Q. R., XIV, 123).—Die beiden, oben unter III, 34, 35 erwähnten Gedichte Samuel b. Nissim's (142 b, 144 a).

VIII.

T. 19 (1383), ein grosses Fragment des *Diwans* des Dichters Šā'ib. Anfang und Ende fehlen. 58 Bl. kl. 4°; in schöner Schrift und gleichmässiger Ausführung, 20 Zeilen auf jeder Seite. Es sind etwa 250 Ghaselen, deren jede am Schluss den Namen des Dichters (שא״ב) darbietet. Die Blätter sind nicht richtig geheftet, wie die nach dem arabischen Alphabet geordneten Reimbuchstaben zeigen. Das Fragment enthält nämlich Ghaselen auf א (7 a–29 b), ב (29 b–34 b), ג (34 b–38 a), ד (38 a–39 a), ה (39 a–44 b), ו (44 b–45 a), ז (45 a, b), ח (45 b), ט (45 b–46 a), י (46 a–47 a), יא (47 a, b), יב (47 b–49 a), יג (49 a–50 b), יד (50 b, hier ist eine Lücke), טו (51 a–56 b, Lücke), יז (57 a–58 b). Die ersten 6 Blätter enthalten Ghaselen mit folgenden Reimbuchstaben: א (1 a–3 b), ב (4 a–5 b), ג (5 b, Lücke), wieder א (6 a, b). Übrigens enthielt der Diwan, von dem ein grosser Theil hier in hebräischer Schrift vorliegt, nur einen kleinen Theil der Lyrik des Dichters. S. über Šā'ib's "an Ghaselen geradezu überreichen Diwan" Ethé in dem *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, II, 312. Šā'ib aus Isfahan (geb. 1603, gest. 1677) war "der hervorragendste Dichter des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts und nach dem Urtheil der persischen Kritiker zugleich der Schöpfer eines neuen Stils in der Lyrik" (Ethé, ib.). Das Vorhandensein dieser hebräischen Abschrift einer Auswahl aus seinem Diwan

ist einerseits ein weiterer Beweis für die Beliebtheit seiner Dichtungen, anderseits ein Zeugniß für den Antheil der persischen Juden an dem geistigen Leben ihres Landes. Das Ms. scheint dem 18. Jahrh. anzugehören.

IX.

T 4 (183), 116 Blätter, lang und schmal, in sehr kleiner und gleichmässiger Schrift, meist in zwei oder drei Columnen mit schiefen kurzen Zeilen. Dem ersten beschriebenen Blatte gehen drei leere voraus, sie enthalten jedoch keinen allgemeinen Titel für diese Sammlung von Dichtungen, die der unbekannte Urheber der Handschrift sich angelegt hat. Diese Sammlung besteht durchaus aus Erzeugnissen der persischen Poesie und enthält fast gar nichts, was jüdischen Ursprunges (s. No. 6) wäre. Viele Seiten sind leer. Die Handschrift stammt aus dem ersten Drittel des 19. Jahrh. (s. unten unter Sa'di). Das Papier hat das Wasserzeichen: "Thomas Puppo."

1. (1 a-3 a.) Überschrift: אלמטמא (arab. Al-mu'amma) *Räthsel*. Etwa 60 Nummern, meist Vierzeiler. Die Lösungen sind nicht angegeben.— Ein Räthsel mit der Überschrift נהאר אהרר נהאר nebst der Lösung (נאב) steht S. 52 a.

2. (4 a.) Überschrift: נאע נאח בלאא אהח ("Es ist eine Sammlung von Gottes Schutz anrufenden Sprüchen"). Sprüche, die mit den Worten (od. בלאא נאח (= arab. na'ûdu billâhi) beginnen und als Schutzmittel für gewisse Gelegenheiten dienen; auch andere Sprüche ähnlicher Art. *Prosa*.

3. (4 b.) Ein Stück gereimter Prosa mit der Überschrift בחר כול; dieser Ausdruck ist hier in dem Sinne zu verstehen, der *Z. d. D. M. G.*, LIII, 393 bei Jûsuf Jehudi constatirt ist. In dem Stücke ist auch Bochara erwähnt.

4. (5 a.) Ein ähnliches Stück, mit אצא überschrieben und damit der vorhergehenden Nummer angereiht.

5. (6 b-8 a.) Mit Reimstücken gemengte Prosa. Beginnt mit den Worten: נאאם אהרהא נאמה.

6. (9 a–10 a.) Von anderer Hand, zur Ausfüllung einiger der leer gebliebenen Seiten (8 b–13 a): das oben unter V, 5 erwähnte Gedicht, mit der Überschrift: דוניא ופֿא נרארד.

7. (13 b–114 b.) Der Haupttheil der Sammlung. Gedichte der verschiedensten Herkunft, zumeist ohne Überschriften, vielfach aber mit Nennung des Dichters. Die genannten Dichter sind in alphabetischer Reihe folgende:

Abû 'Alî (45 a). Ein Ghasel, überschrieben: בו עלי; der Dichter nennt sich auch im Schlussverse בו עלי.

Abulhasan (28 a). Ein Ghasel, überschrieben: סלמאן זל. Im Schlussverse nennt sich der Dichter: אבן סלמאן זל חסן.

Amina (80 b). Drei Ghaselen. In den ersten zwei nennt sich der Dichter am Schlusse: אמינא; in der dritten Ibn Jamîn (אבן ימי). Wenn nicht — was unwahrscheinlich — der oben (IV, 5) erwähnte jüdische Dichter Amina, d. i. Benjamin b. Mischael zu verstehen ist, dann darf man an den bekannten Ghaselendichter Ibn Jamîn (st. 1345) denken (s. Ethé, S. 303).

Argman (30 b). Ein Ghasel, überschrieben: ארגמן, welchen Namen (= argmand) auch der Schlussvers zeigt.

Feridân (67 b). Ein Ghasel, überschrieben: פֿערידאן; so auch im Schlussverse.

Ġaldluddîn. S. unten, unter Schamsuddîn.

Ġâmî (68 a, b). Sechs Ghaselen. Überschrift: גאמى.

Hakiri (85). Ein Ghasel. Der Name חקירי in der Überschrift und im Schlussverse. Vielleicht ist beidemal חקירי Fehler für חקיקי; dann ist Ḥaḳīḳī, der Dichter des 12. Jahrh., gemeint (s. Ethé, S. 528).

Isma'îl (81 b). Ein Ghasel. Überschrift: اسماعيل; im Schlussverse: اسماعيل.

Kalîm (69 b–70). Zehn Ghaselen. Von demselben (ohne Überschrift, aber der Name כלים in der letzten Strophe genannt, ein Gedicht in 14 fünfzeiligen Strophen (Muchammas). Abû Ṭâlib Kalîm aus Hamadan starb in Kaschmir 1652 (Ethé, S. 309).

Karîm (45 a). Gedicht in Zweizeilern mit der Überschrift

כרים. Jedoch scheint diese Angabe über den Dichter irrtümlich aus dem letzten Verse (כריסטת אן ארחם אלראחמין) erschlossen zu sein, wo כרים nicht Eigenname ist.

Kassab (20 b). Ein Ghasel. Überschrift und im Schlussverse: קצאב.

Mufis (88 b). Ein Ghasel. Überschrift und im Schlussverse: מופלץ.

Rafi'a (85 b–86 a). Drei Ghaselen, von denen die erste und dritte im Schlussverse den Dichter רפי'א, die zweite רפי'א nennt. Überschrift: רפי'א. Vielleicht Rafi'i aus Kaschan (st. 1623). S. Ethé, S. 308.

Rahm (81 b). Ein Ghasel. Überschrift und im Schlussverse: רחם. S. oben, V, 3.

Ridā (27 b–28 a). Ein längeres Gedicht in Zweizeilern. Überschrift und im Schlussverse: רדא. Der Dichter Mirza Muhammed Ridā starb um 1636 (Ethé, S. 311).

Sa'di (72 b–76 b). Mehr als zwanzig Ghaselen. Überschrift: סעדי. Eine der Ghaselen (75 b) ist in *persischer Schrift* geschrieben. Darüber steht die Bemerkung des Urhebers der hebräischen Abschriften: נוסחה נמסיד כה דר. גילאן עמלה חסן כאן ואל [בור] 1148 (1248 = 1833). Also: Gernschid, der in Ghilan Beamter des Statthalters Hasan Chan war, schrieb im genannten Jahre — jedenfalls auf Wunsch des jüdischen Abschreibers — dieses Gedicht Sa'di's in persischer Schrift, inmitten der hebräisch geschriebenen anderen Gedichte, nieder. Damit erfahren wir auch, wann unsere Handschrift entstand.

Sd'ib (20 b). Ein Ghasel; ferner 77 b–79 b: 16 Ghaselen. Das erste Mal ist der Name des Dichters in der Überschrift חסיב geschrieben, das andre Mal חסיב, bei den einzelnen Ghaselen, auch im Schlussverse, auf beide Weisen, einmal selbst חסיב. Stets ist der Dichter Sā'ib zu verstehen, von dem bei der vorhergehenden Handschrift (No. VIII) die Rede war. Auf S. 35 b–37 a steht ein Gedicht in Zweizeilern mit der Überschrift: כאב וכיאל מאיב, „Schlaf und Phantasie," von מאיב wo ebenfalls unser Dichter gemeint ist.

Sā'il (45 b). Ein Ghasel. Überschrift: סאיל; im Schluss-

vers סא'יל. Einen Dichter Sâ'ili aus dem Anfang des 16. Jahrh. erwähnt Ethé S. 207.

Schamsuddîn (86 b–87 b). Acht Ghaselen. Überschrift: שטם. In den Schlussversen: שטם אלדן חברי oder שטם חברי, auch שטם חברי. Das letztere, Schams Tabrizi, ist der Dichtername, welchen der grosse mystische Dichter Ġalâ-luddîn Rûmi an Stelle seines eigenen Namens in fast allen seinen lyrischen Gedichten setzte, zum Gedächtnisse seines Lehrers, des Wanderderwisches dieses Namens, der von 1244 bis 1247 sein steter Gesellschafter war (Ethé, S. 288).

'*Urî* (90 b). Ein Ghasel. Überschrift und im Schlussverse: ע'ר'י. (Über diesen Dichter, der seinen Diwan im Jahre 1588 vollendete, s. Ethé, S. 308.)

Wahschi (65 b). Ein Ghasel. Überschrift und im Schlussverse: מחשי. Über Wahschi Bâfiki (st. 1583) s. Ethé, S. 298.

Einige Gedichte der Sammlung haben Überschriften, die nur den Titel des Gedichtes darbieten:

סח ונרא (28 b–29 a). Unter diesem Namen ("Brennen und Schmelzen") ist ein kleines Epos des Muḥammed Riḏâ Nau'î bekannt (Ethé, S. 254). Hier scheint ein Theil desselben vorzuliegen.

קצא קדר (29 a–30 b). *Ḳaḏâ* u. *Ḳadr* ("Schicksal und Vorherbestimmung") heisst ein Mathnawi von Kuli Salîm aus Teheran (st. 1647). S. Ethé, S. 309.

קצה אבראל (30 b–31 b). Erzählung von Abdal. A. ist nach dem ersten Verse Name eines Derwisch.

קצירה עאברי (31 b–32 a). Erzählung von einem Frommen. (Statt קצירה l. קצה.) Es ist ein Mathnawi.

קצירה קאזי (32 b–33 a). *Ḳaṣide* vom Richter.

אנר פארה (33 b–34 a). Unverständliche Überschrift einer *Ḳaṣide*, als deren Dichter sich in dem letzten Verse "Schah Ni'mat al-aula" nennt (... נעמת אלא'יל).

קצה נרבה מוש (34 b–35 b). Erzählung von Katze und Maus.

בימאר מביב (37 a–38 b). Kranker und Arzt.

סאקי נאמה (43 b–45 a). Schenkenbach. Der Verfasser nennt sich nicht.

רנ וזן ל'יל (52 b–53 a). Aderlass Laila's.

זיטת ויבא (61 b–62 a). “Hässlich und schön.” Kleine Geschichte von den Frauen.

Dichter, deren Namen aus den Schlussversen der ohne Überschriften gegebenen Stücke hervorgehen, sind: *Hasan* (חסן), 89 b; *Hasrat* (חסרת), 82 b–84 b, 13 Ghaselen, von denen eine (Reim חסרת כוש) mit den Worten schliesst: בזמן שטרב בבום שארמאנה נולחאי כוש אז דיואן חסרת.

Die Überschrift אלמקטעא leitet eine Reihe kurzer Gedichte ein (53 b–59 a).

Von Blatt 91 an sind die meisten Blätter leer; nur auf S. 104 b–105 a stehen noch kleinere Versstücke unter der Überschrift אלמפֿרדא; 107 b–113 b Vierzeiler mit der Überschrift רבאעיא. — S. 114 a stehen zwei Recepte; S. 114 b Recepte für Liebestränke mit der Überschrift: ספרחי כה נחת תפיש דל עאשקאן נאפעסח.

Auf den letzten drei Seiten des Bandes (von rückwärts begonnen, 116 b, 116 a, 115 b) steht ein *Bücherverzeichniss*, über das ich im VIII. Jahrgange der *Zeitschrift für Hebr. Bibliographie* referire.

Ausser dem bereits erwähnten Gedichte Sa'di's sind noch für einige andere Gedichte persische Schriftzüge verwendet (57 b, 82 b).

Die vorstehende Beschreibung der neun Handschriften ergänze ich mit einem Überblick der in denselben enthaltenen Litteraturprodukte.

1. *Persische Poesie der Juden*, und zwar: a. Grössere Dichtungen: Azharoth Ibn Gabirol's übersetzt (VII, C.); Azharoth des Nathanael b. Moses (II, 1). — Antiochus-Buch (II, 2). — Die Sieben Brüder (VI, 2, zum Theil Prosa). — Zur Zerstörung des Tempels (VI, 3, zum Theil Prosa). — Das Buch Esther (VI, 5). — Aus Schahin's biblischen Dichtungen (IV, 4). — Mischnatraktat Aboth (IV, 7). — Zwei Akeda-Dichtungen (IV, 5, 6). — Aus Babai's historischen Erzählungen (VI, 9). — Prinz und Derwisch (I, 13; IV, 3). — Die sieben Vesiere (V, 9). — b. Kleinere Gedichte, meist

jüdischen Inhaltes: I, 5; III, 15, 21, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33; V, 1, 5 (= IX, 4), 6, 7; VI, 4, 7, 24, 25, 26, 28. — c. Persische Bearbeitung Nağara'scher Gedichte: I, 4, 8 (= VII, 11), 9 (= III, 3), 12; III, 7, 8, 9; VII, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. — Übersetzungen anderer hebräischer Poesieen: III, 1, 10 (= VII, 6); IV, 2, 5, 6; VI, 18; VII, 1, 2. — d. Zweisprachige (hebr.-pers.) Gedichte: VII, 32, 33.

Türkische Übersetzung aus Nağara: VII, 37; zweisprachiges (hebr.-türkisches) Gedicht: VII, 38.

2. *Persische Prosa der Juden*: VI, 12, 14, 20; VII, B.

3. *Hebräische Poesie*. Ausser den zugleich mit der persischen Übersetzung gegebenen Originalen der unter 1. aufgezählten Gedichte, und ausser den Gedichten der unter 7. aufgezählten Dichter, sind folgende hebräische Gedichte ohne Nennung des Autors gebracht: I, 2, 3; III, 14, 20; VI, 1, 10, 15, 22, 34.

4. *Hebräische Prosa*: VI, 16, 19, 21. — Targum: VI, 17.

5. Alphabetische Liste der jüdischen Verfasser persischer Gedichte oder poetischer Übersetzungen ins Persische: Aharon Gurpâdegani (VI, 3). — Amina = Benjamin b. Mischael. — Babai (VI, 9, 24). — Benjamin b. Mischael (IV, 5; VI, 5; VII, 32). — Benjamin b. Elija (IV, 6). — Chizkija (VI, 25). — Eljahu (I, 12). — Elischa (VII, C). — Gerschom (VI, 28). — Jachja (V, 9). — Jechezkel (I, 5). — Jehuda (VII, 33). — Joseph b. Isaak, d. i. Jûsuf Jehudi (III, 28, 29; VI, 2). — Joseph Ibn Siman Zargâri (V, 5, 6; VI, 4, 7). — Moses (III, 32). — Moses Imrâni (IV, 7). — Nathanael b. Moses (II, 1). — Nathan Gulpadegani (I, 4). — Samuel b. Pîr Aḥmad (VII, C). — Schahin (IV, 4). — Siman-Tôb (III, 1; VII, 1, 2, 3; VII, B.). — Tobija (III, 110). — Uzziel (III, 21, 22).

6. Persische (nichtjüdische) Dichter, ausser den in der alphabetischen Liste unter IX, 7 aufgezählten, und den anderen, ebendasselbst genannten: Ferideddin 'Aṭṭar (V, 4, 8); Ibn Gisa (V, 2); Raḥim (V, 3); Sâ'ib (VIII).

Anonym (ausser den in IX): I, 14; IV 1; V, 2, 3; VII, 34, 35, 36, 39.

7. Verfasser hebräischer Gedichte: Abraham (VII, 28). — Aharon Hakohen (VII, 29). — Chananja (VI, 11, 32). — Chizkija (VII, C, Ende). — David b. Aharon b. Husein (III, 24). — Israel b. Moses Nağara (ausser den unter i. erwähnten, nur hebräisch, bez. aramäisch: I, 7, 10; III, 4, 13, 18, 19, 23, 25, 36; VII, 12–21). — Jakob (III, 26=VI, 6). — Jehuda b. Eleazar (VII, 30). — Joseph (III, 16; VI, 13, 18). — Menachem (VI, 31). — Mordechai (I, 11). — Moses (III, 2; VI, 30). — Moses b. Joseph Halevi (VI, 29). — Nathanael b. Moses (II, 1). — Nissim (VII, 31). — Sabbathai (VII, 38). — Šaliḥ (III, 6, 10; VII, 26, 27). — Salomo (III, 7; VI, 10). — Salomo Ibn Gabirol (III, 10). — Samuel b. Nissim (I, 1; III, 34, 35). — Siman-Tôb (III, 1, 5; VII, 22–25).

W. BACHER.

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